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The purpose of this conference was to consider the crucial question concerning a high level of technology in an industrial society which constantly creates new needs and makes new demands upon itself: can human values still be maintained? Is the technology itself the primary determinant or are human beings still able to formulate their own values? Discussion of the central topic ranges from a comprehensive overview of the quality of our lives to current attitudes concerning managerial approaches to change. One approach to the problem of change within an organization also sought to develop a systematic cause and effect relationship concerning the environment of the worker. In "The Worker: Insecurity, Fear and Resistance to Change," C.R. Brookbank states: "While a systems approach to business and industry is becoming popular in relation to the deployment of money, materials or machinery, a similar focus on human behavior in organizations is only now receiving the concentrated attention of scholars." Four other addresses, with ensuing discussions and a symposium, are included. (CH)

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McGILL UNIVERSITY

INDUSTRIAL
RELATIONS
CENTRE

HUMAN VALUES AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

Seventeenth Annual Conference
May 16 and 17, 1967

McGILL UNIVERSITY SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CONFERENCE 1967

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1 HUMAN VALUES AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

Ed.;
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FOREWORD

The crucial question concerning a high level of technology in an industrial society which constantly creates new needs and makes new demands upon itself is this: can human values still be maintained? Is the technology itself the primary determinant or are human beings still able to formulate their own values against insurmountable odds?

At its Seventeenth Annual Conference, the Industrial Relations Centre at McGill University attempted to analyse the problem and it did so from a variety of points of view. The papers which were presented examined the problem of human values and technological change ranging from a comprehensive overview of the quality of our lives (Professor Wilensky) to current attitudes concerning managerial approaches to change (Professor Sayles).

Professor Brookbank also looked at the problem of change within the firm but sought to develop a systemic cause and effect relationship concerning the environment of the worker. This approach may not only be useful from the managerial point of view but also from that of the union. Professor Briant has called our attention to the problem of intra-worker and union-management relations with respect to the professional employee. By concentrating his remarks on teachers and their organizations he has given us a general view of this most pressing problem in Quebec's ever-tumultuous labour relations.

It is our hope that the reader may find these Proceedings not only stimulating but of some use in his professional practices.

Paul Weinberg
Editor

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Professor C. Roy Brookbank
Professor Leonard Sayles
Professor Peter Briant

TECHNOLOGY, WORK AND LEISURE: REFLECTIONS ON THE GAINS AND COSTS OF ABUNDANCE

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CHAIRMAN: *James Mallory*
Chairman, Department of Economics and
Political Science, McGill University

CHAIRMAN:

Our purpose here today is to introduce you to this bracing atmosphere, and the first speaker is Professor Harold L. Wilensky, who is in the Department of Sociology in the University of California at Berkeley, a university that has its own problems of a somewhat similar type to those of labour and management.

Professor Wilensky is also, of course, in the Institute of Industrial Relations there; he has been at Berkeley since 1963, and he has stuck it out. Previously he was at Michigan and Chicago; as a sociologist he has written four books, in most cases bearing on the problems of sociology in the way in which a sociologist looks at the phenomenon of labour. One of the books, which was just published this year, goes by the name *Organizational Intelligence, Knowledge and Policy in Government and Industry,* and is an attempt to explain spectacular intelligence failures from the Edsel of lamented fame to the Bay of Pigs. This is the kind of refreshing and engaging way of looking at things which I am sure we all find stimulating.

Professor Wilensky's interests lie in the problems of the work-a-day world in which we find ourselves. These problems not only

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This paper is based in part on H. L. Wilensky, "The Problems and Prospects of the Welfare State," in H. L. Wilensky and C. N. Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare* (New York: Free Press, Macmillan, 1965), paperback edition; and Wilensky, *Work, Leisure and Freedom* (New York: Free Press, forthcoming).

include the values we were brought up with but the very assumptions underlying our whole way of life. These are now obviously in danger of being totally discredited.

If you read back among the great economists of the nineteenth century, among others Karl Marx, you will find that all of them were faced with the problem of labour as an essential part of the process of production, that all of them shared the assumption that work was unpleasant and nasty, that people would not work unless you provided some terrifying incentives, such as starvation, and that Marx, who after all was also trying to visualize a new and better world in his ultimate society, never got around to that problem. Even in his Communist society, there was still the problem of getting people to do nasty and dirty jobs. The whole theory of wages, the whole theory of production has always been based on the idea that work is a nasty and unpleasant thing, and somehow you have got to provide incentives for people to do it.

I am not sure that this is a problem that will outlast my time, probably not yours, because now affluent societies at least are faced with the possibility that labour may not even become ultimately socially necessary; we may have to find a morally acceptable equivalent to work. This affects both how we think about labour, how we think about work, and it has also pushed into the forefront problems that have to be confronted by people who live in this world of the other side of work, which is non-work. That is leisure.

This is why Professor Wilensky's talk this afternoon on "Technology, Work and Leisure: Reflections on the Gains and Costs of Abundance" takes us to the root of the kind of problem that we have to pause and think about. I will now introduce Professor Wilensky.

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

Thank you, Professor Mallory. Let me say that as I come to this lively Conference I feel fresh from the war, the demanding war at Berkeley, and I am mounting the barricades here; one cannot get away from the action.

I'm here this afternoon to share with you some reflections on the gains and costs of abundance — with special attention to the impact of industrialization (the increasing and widespread use of high-energy technology) on the quality of modern life.

I'm going to ignore a good many cultural differences between Canada and the United States — your lesser emphasis on equality, your realism contrasted to our naive optimism, your blend of Anglo-Saxon soberness and French emotional intensity.

Aussi, il va sans dire, que j'essai de reconcilier les différences de perspectives existant dans ma propre profession. Au Canada on trouve ces différences surtout entre des sociologues de langue française et ceux de langue anglaise. A cet égard, j'ai entendu dire que plusieurs sociologues de langue française considèrent leurs collègues anglophones comme de simples techniciens du *survey research*, tandis que ces derniers leur rendent le compliment en disant que les sociologues de langue française font trop de philosophie. Sans doute ces différences sont exagérées. Mais, en tout cas, j'ai l'intention de vous parler comme sociologue de façon tout à fait œcuménique — eh bien, vous pouvez voir que malgré mes louables efforts je demeure dans la tradition linguistique de M. Diefenbaker. Comme lui donc, je retournerai maintenant à ma propre langue.

The gains and costs of abundance I speak of are common to all nations that have achieved a high level of technological development. I assume that everyone knows more about the benefits of being rich than about its costs. I will therefore concentrate on the burdens of abundance — burdens in the sense that they block process toward equality and freedom. The picture I'm going to paint is one of poverty for the bottom fifth, goodies for the mass in the middle, distant wars and mass entertainment for everyone — and most of what I will say about these burdens of abundance is unpleasant; I may ruin your digestion. So I'd like to begin with a view of the promise of modern life — what I admire most about the rich, democratic countries of the world — yours and mine included. It is not so much their affluence, their celebrated productivity, but what that productivity makes possible, and what they have in some measure already achieved.

If we assess North American life against its harsh initial development or against the pre-industrial societies of medieval Europe, then surely several things are true.

1. *We have more freedom. In the West, the mass of men are no longer slaves of tradition: they exercise freedom of choice in more spheres than ever before.* No longer do the inflexible rules of guild, clan, village-community, and monastery grip men in almost all of the daily round.
2. *Personal relationships, while less stable than before, give more play to individuality and self-expression.* We see this in our freer courtship, our less oppressive marriages, our more tolerant views of divorce and intermarriage, our more favourable views of equality between male and female, old and young — views which are now spreading from college-educated professionals (who incidentally have a very low divorce rate) to the rest of the population.
3. *There has been a proliferation of independent, self-governing organizations* — political parties, private enterprises, free unions, lodges, clubs, etc. This had made it possible for varied interests and values to be expressed, for varied groups to compete for the allegiance of the individual without destroying his liberties.
4. And finally, with the *spread of mass education and literacy,* millions who once stood on the sidelines of American life or remained in the backwaters of Canadian life now began to share the fruits of abundance. I speak chiefly of the two great minorities of this continent — the Negroes in the United States and French Canadians here. Comparisons between these two people are often superficial but it is safe to say that whatever the signs of their liberation — from black nationalism in Harlem to the coming reception of General DeGaulle at "Expo" — they are now in a position to insist on some solid action to implement their individual and cultural rights. It is only small comfort to compare a hundred lynchings with a few dog bites, no schools with some schools. Nor is it much comfort to note that fifty years ago the French language was little used in this country beyond the confines of family, parish, political stump, and factory floor, while today it is winning begrudging recognition in salesroom and boardroom and is increasingly the medium of Canadian cultural accomplishment. Small comfort indeed, but such com-

parisons do suggest a long-run trend toward equality and social justice.

The wider diffusion of freedom, more chance for self-expression in personal relationships, pluralism in organizational life and culture, more educational opportunity, perhaps even more civil order — in the long view these are clear accompaniments of abundance in the Free West. But these positive achievements have their cost, and it is by no means certain that we can count on continued growth in freedom and equality as an automatic by-product of continued economic growth. For abundance brings its burdens as well as its blessings.

The Burden of Indifference to Relative Poverty at Home and Abroad

With economic advance, the remaining poor, the disorganized lower fifth within rich countries, tend to be ignored. And, of course, as Gunnar Myrdal and other students of international life indicate, the lower four-fifths of mankind tend to be ignored by the rich countries — so that the Marxian dictum that the rich get richer and poor, poorer, now applies to the globe as it never applied to any one country.

Despite all our talk of the war on poverty in the United States and Canada alike, the action is very limited. The indifference of the middle majority to the poor, and indeed their resistance to further process toward equality of any kind is plain. It is determined in part by two tendencies: (1) The increasingly uneven distribution of work common to all modern economies; (2) The tendency of great powers to adopt bloated defence budgets, not only to maintain the balance of nuclear terror but also to fight so-called "small wars," a combination new to our time, one that also generates a demand for overtime work and job mobility. Both of these tendencies increase the natural indifference of hard-working, adaptable majorities to the fate of those who can neither work nor adapt.

Poverty, the Uneven Distribution of Work, and the New Leisure

The most striking thing about work in modern society is that it is unevenly distributed. When people hear that I'm studying leisure styles they often say, "Oh, yes. Isn't it awful. What will we do with all this leisure time?" And then they are apt to mention the electricians in New York City who struck for and won a 25-hour week. Or they'll mention "suburban neuroses" — the ills of women with time on their hands.

Well, scratch the surface a bit and you'll find that those electricians are actually on the job 45 or 50 hours a week (logging overtime); and those women, like women everywhere, are putting in as long a "work" week as their ancestors of pre-industrial times — logging time in childbearing, housekeeping, and the like.

Talk of the leisure-oriented society and the decline of the "Protestant Ethic" has obscured the basic fact of the matter: *modern populations on the average remain busy — with some groups becoming busier while other groups are condemned to forced leisure.*

The average man's gain in leisure has been exaggerated by selective comparison of gross daily or weekly averages in working hours with those of the "take off" period of rapid economic growth in England, France, and America—a time of bloodcurdling schedules and conditions. Estimates of *annual* and *lifetime* leisure and *comparisons with earlier times* suggest a different picture. The skilled urban worker has now achieved the position of his thirteenth century counterpart, whose long work day, seasonally varied, was offset by many holidays, rest periods, and long vacations; annual hours of work now, as then, remain in the range 1,900-2,500.[1]

Upper strata have in fact lost out. Even though their work-lives are shorter and vacations longer than those of lower strata, these men work many hours, week after week — sometimes reaching a truly startling lifetime total. Top leaders in political and economic life, in the military establishment, education, welfare, æsthetics, and entertainment show a marked preference for income over leisure. I'll come back to the overworked leaders of modern society later when we get to the shortage of executive talent to man the welfare state.

How about women — who, after all, have the most apparent *choice* in the matter? Economic growth everywhere brings more women into the nonagricultural labour force. This, of course, excludes the "work" of home and family. It seems plain that emancipation, while it has released women from the labour market, has not to any equal extent released them from housewifery. Studies of the weekly round of women report a range of averages of 50 to 80 hours a week in housework, child-care, and paid labour. If a woman takes a job today, she has to figure on adding her workweek to a 40- or 50-hour "homemaking" minimum, unless she can afford and obtain a maid.

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[1] H. L. Wilensky, "The Uneven Distribution of Leisure: The Impact of Economic Growth on 'Free Time,'" *Social Problems*, 9 (Summer, 1961), pp. 32-56, Bobbs-Merrill Reprint, S-542, Bobbs-Merrill Reprint Series in the Social Sciences, The College Division, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 4300 West 62nd Street, Indianapolis 6, Indiana.

On balance, the female "workweek" may be as long as it was a century ago; while pace-setting elites, the main carriers of cultural traditions and values, have likely increased their time at work. The uneven distribution of work among those working and the incidence of ***involuntary retirement*** and ***unemployment*** suggest that men who have gained most leisure need and want more work. The "leisure stricken" are not replacing the "poverty stricken"; the two are becoming one.

In short, I disagree with those social critics who hold that modern society is leisure-oriented; that leisure must now take up the slack caused by the disruption of the labour market in the new era of "cybernation" or by the new alienation of modern work; that we will have to break the once tight relationship between income and employment or rewards and type of work; that the typical man once had a stable career, but now, with greatly accelerated technological change, he does not or will not. If the arguments of the students of the "triple revolution"[2] merely imply that, for economic and humanitarian reasons, there should be a floor of income below which no family should be allowed to fall, I enthusiastically agree. If they imply that we are becoming a leisure-oriented society, quickly moving toward the day when the average citizen has no useful work to do, and we therefore must find substitutes for work, I doubt it. We need to bend our abundance to great purposes, pay people for work that needs doing — create jobs, part-time and full, that will harness the energies and channel the realism and enthusiasm of millions of men, women, and young people. Even for the long run of twenty years, it still makes sense to talk about education, vocational training, and public policy as they relate to jobs, labour markets, and careers — topics I am sure the eminent speakers to follow will cover.

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[2] The Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution, "The Triple Revolution" (Santa Barbara, California, P.O. Box 4068, 1964). D. N. Michael, *Cybernation: The Silent Conquest* (Santa Barbara: Fund for the Republic, 1962).

One reason for the indifference of the rich countries to their wars on poverty is that they have sometimes devoted their resources to much larger wars — for instance the French involvement in Algeria and Indo-China and the utopian venture of the United States in Vietnam. The generalization is this: perhaps modern societies tend toward increasing civility, a more peaceful life at home, while they move toward an increased scale and diversity of violence, become more bellicose in their foreign relations. This brings me to the second burden of great riches.

The Burden of the Garrison State

Taking the United States as a prototype of the rich and powerful nation, we can see that our current annual rate of expenditures for the Vietnam war is about ten to twenty times the figure for the poverty war: for our civilizing domestic war, about $2 billion; for our devastating foreign war, about $19.3 billion.[3]

One other figure is necessary to put the administration's budget in perspective. Despite heroic economy drives in the defence establishment, for which we should applaud Secretary McNamara, despite renewed concern with the quality of American domestic life, our defence budget in 1964 remained about 56 per cent of the total federal budget. With Vietnam, the defence budget has now reached an annual rate of well over $60 billion.

The Balance Between Public Civilian and Public Military

There is a problem of conflicting purposes here. Kenneth Galbraith has argued that a society preoccupied with the private production and aggressive sale of consumer goods, however magnificent, is a society that starves its public sector. Yet the problem is not merely one of "balance" between public and private effort; the fraction of our gross national product spent by government at all levels for all purposes is in fact well over one-fourth — by Western standards quite large. The problem is instead what we emphasize in our public sector, with what effect on the security, freedom, and equality of our people:

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[3] Data from Ida C. Merriam, "Social Welfare Expenditure, 1964-65," *Social Security Bulletin* (October, 1965), pp. 3-16; and William Bowen, "The Vietnam War: A Cost Accounting," *Fortune*, 73 (April, 1966), pp. 119 ff. The estimate represents Bowen's calculation of the cost in fiscal 1967 assuming that U.S. forces in South Vietnam would increase to 250,000 men by June 30, 1966 (apparently an underestimate), expand steadily to reach 400,000 by December 31, 1966 and then remain at that level. It includes military aid to South Vietnam forces, a portion of the cost of bases built in neighbouring Southeast Asian countries, and the support of Korean forces in Vietnam. With repeated escalations, the annual rate of expenditures is now much higher.

> How much for improving the technology of missiles? How much for improving techniques of teaching, community organization, and welfare administration? How much for the further training of scientists and engineers? How much for the staffing of employment services, libraries, schools, colleges, and art galleries? How much for reaching the moon? How much for reaching the unreached poor?

In short, the balance between public and private may be less fateful than the balance between public civilian and public military. So long as the United States pursues its national interests as a world power by accenting military action we will lag in the most civilizing of our public expenditures.

But are we not now becoming so rich that we can simultaneously escalate the war in Vietnam and the struggle to cope with our social problems at home? If President Johnson believes that, he is deceiving himself. He really has two broad choices: with each new bombing campaign, each new commitment of troops, he can demonstrate that America is very rich and very powerful, which nobody anywhere doubts, while he abandons the struggle for a more humane social order. Or he can begin to disengage in Vietnam, and give some substance to the Great Society.

The case for disengagement is strong, whatever it might do for the Great Society or for world peace, but in this Conference of industrial relations specialists, two points deserve special attention. First, the talent to man the welfare state is very scarce. It is no news that there is a shortage of manpower in health, education, and welfare. Men in Washington assigned to worry about Vietnam are men not assigned to more civilizing tasks. The range of attention of even the most active and talented men — in the White House, in Congress, in our Departments of HEW, Labor, Interior, Agriculture — is limited. One reason for this I've already discussed — the great demand for their services and the fact that they don't mind being overworked. And second, at *our* level of abundance, a foreign policy accenting military action is expensive enough and inflationary enough to make the argument, "cut the domestic frills, balance the budget," seductive. But it is not so expensive as to put us in the mood for "equality of sacrifice," as it did in World War II. The obvious casualty is progress toward a more humane welfare state.

I doubt that this is a problem unique to the United States. I suspect that the military establishment of every rich and powerful nation tends to grow at a faster rate than do the agencies devoted to equality and social justice. If any country is very, very affluent and at the same time is unfortunate enough to choose leaders whose judgment fails, it is likely to become reckless and profligate with its power and money. I note, for instance, that the cost of killing one enemy soldier in Vietnam is established at $400,000 (a sum that buys among other things 75 bombs and 150 artillery shells for each corpse). Only the rich can afford such a monstrous waste of resources.

Let us now shift gears and consider the more pleasant costs of abundance. In addition to the burden of indifference to poverty, partly a product of the burden of arms, there is —

The Burden of Mass Entertainment and Promotion

Our reluctance to face the problems of the public life is partly due to the enormous machinery of promotion devoted to the private life and the goods and services that fill it. Today in the United States, our outlays for advertising and public relations are almost equal to our current expenditures on public schools (elementary and secondary) — each is about $18 billion annually.[4] ***The more abundance, the more activity to increase the desire for it.*** This is reflected in the way we spend our leisure time. The sheer arithmetic of media exposure (press, radio, film, television) is striking. Nine in ten American homes average five to six hours — over a third of each waking day

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[4] In 1957-58 current expenditures in public schools were $11.7 billion; total advertising expenditures for all media were $10.3 billion. Fritz Machlup, *The Production and Distribution of Knowledge in the United States.* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 104, 275. Business executive Harold S. Geneen estimates that the 1965 expenditure by business on advertising was $15.5 billion, with another $2 billion spent on PR. *San Francisco Chronicle,* "Weak Spots in Communication," May 13, 1966. The total outlay for 1964-65 elementary and secondary day schools was $18.6 billion. *Fall 1964 Statistics of Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools,* U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, January, 1965.

— with the TV set on — and it is not just turned on; it is usually being watched. Additional time goes to reading newspapers and magazines.

The trend is up. An increasing fraction of the daily routine is devoted to the products of these mass media. Mainly due to the rise of TV, the media together and on the average now take up almost as much time as work; substantial minorities log more hours a year on TV viewing alone than working.

So far we are on safe ground. The *size* of this frenzied promotion effort and the astonishing amount of exposure are well known. Even with the aid of the shrewd epigrams of your Marshall McLuhan, however, the impact of the media on the quality of life in North America is unknown — or, at least, is very difficult to judge.

Since little is known about it, I can now sing out with my prejudices. I'd like to suggest two propositions which I think true and which deserve further study: (1) The media and their associated promotional activities *permeate experience;* (2) the *media tend to be apolitical,* accenting the value of private consumption, or, *when political, they are sensational,* reflecting not the real world but the world of *crisis journalism* — at home, the world of welfare scandals, alleged student riots; abroad, a fictional portrait of the Good Guys against the Bad.

1. The mass media are like medieval villages: they form an all-embracing background—

In addition to actual exposure, the media today represent the *core of our conversation;* talk about the products advertised, the shows seen, the latest action in "Batman" and "Bonanza," the latest interviews on "Sunday" or "Aujourd'hui" — media talk is a prominent feature of the total flow of speech. It is likely that with the rise of TV a decreasing share of time is available for other forms of existence, including reading, ordinary conversation, and private contemplation.

A recent nationwide survey of TV viewers, sponsored by CBS, written by Professor G. Steiner, emphasizes the *positive* side of this. It shows that for most Americans *TV has become an integral part of nightly family relaxation* and that it *tends to keep the family home together.* However, the same survey also shows that the *relaxation* *resembles addiction.* The breakdown of the TV set, for instance, has become the "New American Tragedy;" two in three families replace or repair the set within three days, only eight per cent wait as long as three weeks.

Feelings about the TV habit resemble *not* feelings about movies, magazines, or music, but feelings about too many martinis, cigarettes, and charge accounts. The underlying themes are guilt and ambivalence: TV makes a good "educational baby-sitter," but it's too bad there's so much violence. "It's a good escape for me, it keeps the kids out of trouble," but it's a colossal waste of time. We all ought to be doing something else — talking, reading, playing, sleeping.

Finally, the togetherness turns out to be no more than physical; most viewers "accommodate to a reduced level of communication" (p. 102). This CBS survey could not pin down with certainty what an evening with TV costs in *not* doing something else because so few families stay without a set long enough to establish alternative habits, but the answers to the question, "What did you do (the last time the set broke down) during the time you would ordinarily have spent watching TV?" are suggestive. One replied, "We got acquainted with each other all over again." And there was this desperate statement, "It was terrible. We did nothing — my husband and I talked." (p. 99).

2. ***This brings me to my second point about the burden of mass entertainment —***

What is being talked about? Basically, what is seen, heard, and read is shaped by the promotional aims of the media — the desire to create wants in the private sector. A sustained daily din whets our appetite for cars. Who whets the appetite for rapid transit — at least outside Montreal? For the preservation of our natural resources? More adequate hospitals? There's a big campaign to "put a tiger in your tank," and only a small campaign to put more teachers in the schools.

This preoccupation with sales promotion gives the broadcast media a bland, often fuzzy tone. For instance, the necessity of not offending anyone, of emphasizing what everyone can accept, makes the typical television program conventional and apolitical. I realize that there are national differences here — that the CBC is perhaps not so cautious as the CBS and other private networks of the United States. The TV hero up here is as likely to be the big city coroner "Wojeck" confronting the problems of urban life, as the Western ranch owner, rural and self-reliant, in "Bonanza." I am aware, too, that "This Hour Has Seven Days" and "Le Sel de la Semaine" and the like have demonstrated that hard hitting public affairs programs can win large audiences, and raise the level of political dialogue. Unfortunately, I gather that top men in broadcasting circles have recently been backing away from this type of offering. Perhaps they feel that American styles of programming are safer. If so, I hope that they will not end up featuring the most popular TV shows of recent years in the United States — Westerns. The heroes are frontiersmen — anarchic, unconstrained. An impatient, simple-minded irresponsibility permeates the performance of these characters — and maybe it is not too much to suppose that the Good Guys-Bad Guys mentality they encourage spills over into domestic and international politics. Barry Goldwater's ride across the political scene in 1964, like Ronald Reagan's in 1966, had the earmarks of the "adult" Western — whose hero is also above politics, and who also promises to clean up the mess with one quick draw.

Finally — and I'm being purely speculative now — it is possible that the revival of World War II movies on the late-late show, the glorification of the joys of hand-to-hand combat on the prime-time shows, condition us for the daily dose of real life slaughter — our sensibilities so atrophied that all we see on the six o'clock news is just another Bad Guy biting the dust.

I would guess that such elusive effects cover the spectrum of our values. It is this that leads media critics to use such words as "trivialize" and "vulgarize" in describing the impact on values, and, in general, to label press, radio, and TV "the mass media of distraction."

Conclusion

What I'm saying in essence is this: *our very successes bring with them new threats to equality and social justice.* Our abundance is astonishing. It leaves a pool of unneeded, unwanted manpower behind it. The average amount of leisure is impressive but it is unevenly distributed and most of it is forced; those who have it — the unemployed, the aged, the least skilled — lack the education and resources for its creative use, and would prefer to be working anyway. Our military power is impressive. It brings vague unease. The more we seem to win the arms race, the more insecure we become. The more we substitute military power for sensible foreign policy, the more impotent we feel.

The slow spread of the middle class consumer package, of mass culture and mass education is no mean achievement when we think of the poverty and illiteracy that preceded it. More people now participate in the common life. But going all-out for the goodies, immersing ourselves in the happier products of mass entertainment, make us indifferent to the remaining poor and more resentful of the cost of doing the public's business. The mass media reinforce our preoccupation with the goodies, including spectacular military hardware, and they divert our attention from all social problems.

The rise of mass culture may also threaten the standards of the most educated and end in an all-embracing mass culture of mediocre quality. I have made only passing reference to this. Let me elaborate the point for a minute. The problem is not that with rising riches the taste of the masses has been debased — the move from watching bear baiting and cock fighting in 1850 to watching situation comedies and stock car races today may be an improvement. The problem is, rather, that men with the opportunity and education to develop their sensibilities are becoming full participants in mass culture. They spend a reduced fraction of time in exposure to quality print and film. Among the bits of evidence: a survey of a cross-section of adults in the United States found that those who had not finished elementary school averaged 4.3 hours a day viewing television, while those more privileged men and women who had completed more than four years of college — typically the holders of Masters' and Doctors' degrees or professional school degrees — watched an average of 3.0 hours a day. Generally, as we look at the core of leisure — television — and ask about tastes and preferences, the difference between the most educated and the least turn out to be small.

Do these conclusions apply outside the United States? Is American culture prelude to a universal industrial culture? Or do national differences in public policy regarding poverty, war, education, and the mass media crucially determine the quality of national life? If we ignore direct exports like Coca Cola, Westerns, and supermarkets, much of the alleged "Americanization" of the world is a matter of parallel cultural and political developments linked to the level of technological development. European critics may find comfort in thinking of the costs of abundance as imports from a materialistic, bellicose America — that our indifference to poverty, our reckless use of military power, our excess of mass entertainment and promotion are all "made in the U.S.A." But that will not change the roots of the problem: a technology that permits such a heavy flow of military and consumer goods that extravagant waste seems tolerable; a mass education system producing a mass audience, untrained to higher tastes; a cultural elite more heterogeneous in background and functions, more open to mass culture.

DISCUSSION

DEAN WOODS (Dean of Arts and Science, McGill University):

Dr. Wilensky has in a very stimulating way opened our Conference by directing our attention to the problem of the quality of life, which lies at the back of the minds of all of us who are concerned with industrial relations. You now have your chance to ask him questions, and to elaborate on some of the points which he so provocatively made.

MR. WAISGLASS (Privy Council, Government of Canada):

No country in the world has such a high level per capita of university graduates and high school graduates as the United States. Where then, or how does one account now for the failure and bankruptcy in leadership which you have indicated so well and, I think, so clearly?

Your talk apparently suggests that universities themselves have failed, and perhaps they have become corrupted by the materialistic society, the political leaders, the business leaders, the leaders of industry, the leaders in commerce, and generally graduates of American universities. Where does a society like that of the United States look for leadership to lead them into the Promised Land if it is not to the leaders of the universities?

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

It is a very good question and central to an understanding of the main drift of modern society.

A modern university education increases opportunity on the economic side; the university sees to it that the manpower modern industry needs is supplied. Does it raise the level of political judgment? I do not think so. I disagree with many people who do think so. If it raises the level of political judgment, alerts the citizenry to public issues, and the rest, it does so only very slowly at a time when we need it desperately fast.

I think that the problem is partly the diversity of education. You ask where are all those educated people, and I say in reply ,"They came from different kinds of educational institutions; what do you expect?" Half of college-aged youth in California are in college; half of all the eighteen to twenty-two year olds are actually in college, and that fraction is increasing.

These colleges are arranged in a three tier system. The bottom tier is no better than a good high school used to be. It is the junior college. The second tier is perhaps no better than the poorest of the four year colleges used to be. There is variation here, too; some of the state colleges are being upgraded a great deal. But the average level for the United States as a whole is low. At the top, in California, there are nine campuses, like U.C.L.A. and Berkeley. There are a few excellent universities in California, as in the rest of the country, but they carry only a tiny fraction of that half of the college-aged youth in college.

In the development of a diversified education system the average rise in the level of education does not mean very much for culture and television viewing. The educated use television in much the same way as the less educated, on average. Nor will it mean much for an independent, critical, informed opinion on matters like Vietnam. I think there is a slow move in an upward direction, but it is not spectacular, and the slowness is rooted in the diversity of education.

You also mentioned our isolation. I am not for a return to our isolation. I am simply for constraint in the use of power. American presence here, there and everywhere — I would rather see it here and there and cut down on the everywhere. The self-appointed role of world policeman does not appeal to me because it is futile, it is ineffective; we stand there astride southeast Asia with our bombs in the one hand and our artillery shells in the other, and we cannot even move goods in the port without having a twenty or thirty per cent pilferage rate, if you will.

Everyone knows about the Port of New York, and how a man with a truck filled with beer barrels can, in collusion with just one man, the fellow who unloads the thing, put one of those barrels in his car, and what on earth do we think is happening in Saigon? We supply the Viet Cong when they can't supply themselves. The whole thing is utopian ineffectiveness. That senseless destruction is also evil is another matter. It is the ineffectiveness that I speak of.

To return to the general argument, the political judgments and cultural tastes of colleges graduates are diversified because their educational experiences are diversified. Another way to put the point: education does not innoculate one against totalitarianism. In Nazi Germany some of the first recruits to the Nazi movement were teachers, many hundreds of thousands of them. Some of the people put in charge of the genocide movement there were Ph.D.'s, lawyers, and professional administrators. I am not sure that in the modern world we have evidence that educational level alone will do much for us in the quality of civilization, or for constraint in political action.

MR. WAISGLASS:

Well I think, if I may quarrel with that, it is not education. It is the way in which education has been corrupted in the United States — the lost sense of purpose of education, and not educating people. Even universities are training people for jobs. I think this has been a corrupting influence, and what I am looking for in your answer is how do you break out of this vicious circle? Where can we look for a new leadership in the elevation of education in the United States if it is not supplied from the products of the past generation?

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

It is an extremely difficult question. I do not think you can run a modern economy without technical training institutes, without engineering schools, without Ph.D. programs in chemistry, the physical sciences, the biological sciences, and the social sciences. I do not think you can run a modern economy without this diversified educational establishment and, indeed, most countries have not yet come to face the amount of investment in education that they must have if they are to continue to grow economically and man the apparatus they have.

Part of that diversified education system has to be devoted to more humane purposes. I speak of the manning of the welfare state, of health, education and welfare, of more investment in the teachers you are talking about as being "corrupted." To maintain a high quailty of general liberal arts education requires far more investment in education. Also, there is a need for a type of control of admissions among those educational institutes in a position to control admissions.

One of the great errors that I think we made at Berkeley was that we moved to 27,500. If we had stopped at 20,000 we would have been doing a better job. Berkeley, incidentally, has a rather impoverished student-faculty ratio compared to Harvard, or even Michigan, another state-supported institution. That, too, is a matter of the money you spend.

QUESTION:

I suppose we are all agreed that we are living in a society where we are more and more orientated towards leisure, and yet what I find in my own work is that the values that govern society, the people that are working in it, are work-orientated.

We are still defined by what we do professionally, and the moment we stop doing it we are nothing. Is there a way whereby this fact of increased leisure time can be paralleled by an increased evaluation of the worth of leisure, so that we do not have this awful problem as we increase in age where we wonder what we are going to become when we stop being defined by the values of work, and stop working professionally? There is a tremendous gap in my knowledge and my experience. I wonder, and I am asking you now, how can we fill the gap and administer it to a point, provided we think it desirable?

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

I think that you have to be specific about what population you are talking about when you say leisure-oriented — involving a population with time on its hands and not prepared for leisure.

Let us take the television audience and one modest finding from my own study of the uses of television. I will not burden you with actual details, but there is a very large segment of the Detroit Metropolitan area in the 1960 interviews I carried on with 1,354 men that were hooked, if you will, on the detective, western, adventure trio. I am starting with the core of leisure; we will get to other things in a minute.

The core of leisure is that they watch three or four hours a day, and they watch detective, western, adventure action shows. I would ask them, "When you are watching television, do you ever feel that you'd rather be doing something else but you just can't tear yourself away?" "Yes." "How often do you feel that way? Once or twice a day, once or twice a week, once or twice a month, or less often?" "Every hour," they would say, and a very large fraction, I have forgotten the figure now, would say once or twice a day. Then I would say, "Do you ever feel that you have time on your hands, and you just don't know what to do with yourself?" And they answer, "Yes." "How often would you feel that?" And so on. Putting all that together you get this picture of the people watching western, detective, adventure shows in large doses. They are compulsive viewers; they feel they would like to tear themselves away from the screen but they just cannot do it. They let the shows shade into one another, too bored to flick the dial. They are compulsive absorbers of gargantuan amounts of shoddy television. This goes to your question about the leisure-oriented population. Are these people leisure-oriented, work-oriented, or what?

On the other hand, if you ask who are the sports fans watching television, going to the games, and all that, these fellows — by no stretch of the imagination could you call them unhealthy, even if you are hostile to sportsfanship — are mastering the details of the game. They do it with zest and enthusiasm; they are not hooked to the television screen. ("I feel that I wish I could turn the thing off but I can't"). They do not report that. They are sports fans, and they absorb a lot of it, but nobody could harshly judge it from their point of view. They are having fun. Also, from any objective point of view it is a kind of competence they are mastering. They know the batting averages, the ball scores, and biographies and records of the players, and everything else. They sometimes play ball with their kids, too.

So, what I am saying is you have to be very specific as you look at this burden of leisure, or as you look at "time on your hands." Again the people who have lots of it and find it a burden are the prematurely retired, the women heading broken homes, other women whose children have grown up and they have nothing to do, and they wish they did.

If only we could have a four-hour a day job, or a three-hour a day job, to organize our economy in ways to accommodate these aging people who are not really aging; the sixty year old pilot who has been through so many thunderstorms that he is a safer man; he has had to make so many decisions on the point of no return that he is a much more responsible man than the youngster coming on the flight line. I feel safer with that sixty year old.

For pilots, we have inched that up, that retirement age, and I think we should do that in a lot of occupations. I also think we should find part-time jobs for a lot of women whose kids have grown up, for a lot of old folks who are not so old, given a ninety year life expectancy figure.

This is a problem for public policy, and this is the way to tackle the massive doses of "time on our hands;" to single out those populations, and reduce unemployment, do something about manpower problems, retrain, upgrade, move people out of hopeless areas into areas of more opportunity, with moving allowances, as the Swedes do. Organize your employment services so that the product of the high school can get in touch more realistically with the labour market. We need public policies to deal with this problem of time on our hands — not so much a policy for leisure, although we need that, too, but, more crucially, a policy for distributing useful work to those who need and want it.

QUESTION:

How do you sell leisure values to people close to retirement who are defined by values centred strictly on work? How do you tell them, "It is wonderful, now, what you are going to be undoing because you are leaving something that you are doing?"

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

Well, if you accept the validity of the public policies that I have just suggested, do not retire people fully. Let them have some tie to the work. Then their leisure will be more fruitful. That is an inference I draw from the following data. People on short, very short work weeks at least have some sense that they are tied to the community. People who are unemployed and have no job at all and want to work are relatively isolated. Their leisure is more privatized — that is, they watch television alone, and often say they prefer to, although frequently they do not. They eat alone often. It is that heavy burden of privatized leisure.

I do not speak of privacy, the comfort of private contemplation, the joy of it. I am talking about people who are isolated and are not tied to anything, and are disturbed by it. They end up in mental hospitals many times, and that is because they have been cut sharply out of the labour market. They have no tie to the main stream of community life because it is work-centred and it will remain work-centred.

That is my point. To be at work in modern society is to be alive. It is unfortunate, but that is so, and until somebody can show me a modern economy where people are really cutting out from work and not working overtime when they have the choice, not moonlighting when they have the choice, not having double-earning families when they can — and that is all going up you know, the double-earning families.

If you show me a modern economy where work is not central, then I will give you a different kind of answer to your question, but so long as we have this work-centred economy, I will accept the world as it is constituted. The problem of leisure is often merely the simple absence of an opportunity to work: women who have been behind four walls with their children in a kind of prison, and now with the children gone, do not know what to do with themselves. Give them a chance at work. Those prematurely retired fifty-five or sixty year olds — let them have a little work; make the transition to retirement slower. And then their leisure will be more active, if you like it active; more group centred, if you like it group centred; and I think more useful for their own mental health and for the community as a whole.

MR. WAISGLASS:

May I suggest in answer to that portion of your statement that it is not work that people need but a function in life, and this is a problem for the juveniles as well, and for a lot of people in our society who have tasks to perform, which is quite different to having a function in life.

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

Whether we call it work or not, I see a great diversity of jobs to be done; we can create these jobs. In California there are services that simply are not done, and they create a lot of trouble. Old people could do them; young people could do them. People who are now at either end of the scale are to some extent being squeezed out of the labour market. Gardening is one; you cannot get a gardener. We could organize that labour market by government subsidies to small entrepreneurs who would train and supply gardeners promptly instead of six months after people call. Another, perhaps better example is domestic service which now accounts for three per cent of the labour market. Women heading broken homes are now the core of that market. We could do a great deal with public policies aimed at upgrading, dignifying and improving the efficiency of domestic service. Right now it is demeaning; the relationship between master and servant is unpleasant. Most housewives who have servants are having trouble; they are hard to get and harder to relate to. I do not know if this is true in Montreal.

You could for example — and already it has been done to some extent — have people running small businesses who will supply two men. They come sweeping into the house in the morning, full of equipment, very modern and efficient. By noon they have got the whole place cleaned out, and that is the model of the future, and I do not mean they have taken your furniture, they are bonded, they are trained. There is no reason why we cannot do that for people who are marginal to the economy. This will be costly, but the richer you get the more you can afford this. I know your question was how do we give them meaningful work. I think any work that needs doing is meaningful if you handle it right, organize it, upgrade it, make it dignified. The public service jobs that old people can do in politics, in welfare, in the schools are very numerous, too.

You want a more romantic answer than that, but let me give you an illustration of an old person who has been squeezed out of the labour market but who may find the simplest of public service jobs at $1.98 an hour dignified. In the 1960 interviews we carried on of a hundred and five white underdogs, that is people on relief in the Detroit area who had also been unemployed for a year or more, we asked, "What is the best job you ever held?" Now, the Detroit area had a tough welfare department, and they had a work relief program. Many states in the United States do not have work relief programs; they do not make the relief recipients work. They did in Detroit because they had a shortage of cash. Many of these people suggested that the best job they ever had was the one they now did in the relief program. Why? What were they doing? They were tending furnace and helping janitors in the schools. They were helping teachers erase blackboards, and it was meaningful to them. We do not need something that is so extraordinarily romantic. Anything that seems useful will make these people feel better than if they are completely squeezed out of the labour market, and these work relief projects are one answer for people of limited skills. Does that get at all to your question?

MR. WAISGLASS:

There are social functions as well as economic functions.

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

Yes, I see. But education is a social function. These people were helping to man the schools.

OBSERVATION:

This is really not what I meant. You need to give them a function that is meaningful, useful, and purposeful in social relationships. It is not just a question of economic functions.

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

I believe that you mistake my personal point of view because I have dwelt on the economic side of this. The Peace Corps is work, for instance, but it is a symbol of American life at its best — and it is purposeful in social relationships and functions. Here, it was Kennedy's — and I do not buy the Kennedy myth that he was all that great a man — but he had the shrewd insight that there was a pool of idealism and good will among teenagers and young adults, and this good will could be tapped by setting up programs like the Peace Corps, or a Neighbourhood Youth Corps on the domestic front. These ideas were born in Kennedy's administration. And the Administration would suddenly find itself with a surplus of applicants. Right now, even with all of America's foreign troubles, and the CIA scandals, there is still a surplus of applicants for the Peace Corps.

This is a marvelous example of what I think you and I can agree on, that is that there is a pool of idealism and goodwill where the public service motives of young people can be tapped. We need to make work. We need to create programs, adopt missions and purposes that are appropriate to that pool of idealism. The Peace Corps is only one example. We must think of similar programs for other populations — the aged; women — for whom meaningful leisure is superficially the problem, which would be largely solved by providing meaningful work.

DEAN WOODS:

Well, this has been an exciting and wide ranging discussion, and we are greatly indebted to the imagination of the sociologists who have linked together these problems in the world in which we live, and I think everybody here would like me to thank you very much for a most stimulating beginning to our Conference.

THE WORKER: INSECURITY, FEAR AND RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

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CHAIRMAN: *Saul J. Frankel*
Vice-Dean, Social Sciences Division
Faculty of Arts and Science
McGill University

Chairman:

It is my pleasant duty to present to you Professor Roy Brookbank whose topic this afternoon is The Worker: Insecurity, Fear and Resistance to Change.

Roy Brookbank began his undergraduate career at the University of Toronto. As a Montrealer myself I can well guess or understand why he left Toronto to complete his studies at Columbia University and to go on there and take an M.A. in Sociology. After that he went even farther from Toronto to do postgraduate work in human relations at Stanford. His research interests and his academic and professional activities are in the general area of inter-group relations. He has done studies of race relations in the southern United States and also in Negro communities in Nova Scotia. His present focus of interest is on labour-management relations and the general problems of organizational behaviour.

Some of you may remember the provocative address that he delivered here at the Industrial Relations Centre last November dealing with causes and issues in current labour unrest.

Professor Brookbank has had a varied and practical experience. He served for a time as Director of Industrial Relations for B.C. Hydro; he has been, off and on, a consultant to government departments and agencies on the federal, provincial, and local levels. He has done extensive university work, lectures, conducted special seminars at the University of British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Western Ontario.

He now seems to have settled down in the "groves of academe He is professor in the Department of Commerce of Dalhousie Ui versity and also Head of the Industrial Relations Section of t Dalhousie Institute of Public Affairs, and is now serving as a Vic President of the Canadian Industrial Relations Research Institute. final detail, and I left this one to the end because I think it has, may have, some relevance to his topic, is that Professor Brookba is currently the President of the Dalhousie Faculty Association, th is the Dalhousie Professors' Union. I think it is relevant becau while we may have questions about whether professors are worke or whether they experience insecurity and fear, we know they a resistant to change.

PROFESSOR BROOKBANK:

To begin with, we must acknowledge the tremendous advanta we have in approaching the study of worker insecurity and resistan to change as represented by the accumulation of knowledge ov fifteen years by scholars of great competence. We cannot make op mum use of this advantage, however, if our perception of the top and thus our approach to it, is outdated. If the term "worke applies only to a person in a blue collar at the bottom of the orga izational structure, if the words "resistance to change" refer sole to the seemingly illogical attitudes which blue-collar workers appe to adopt towards change, then our total perspective will be to focus the problem of "how we can get the blue-collar worker to acce logical changes that we want to introduce." A narrow and subjecti interpretation of this kind would, I think, place such restrictions our explorations as to make a large amount of the best knowledge i relevant.

It is important to recognize and accept two trends which a basic to this analysis of the situation. The first establishes the ne for objectivity in observing non-logical behaviour. Fear, insecurit and resistance to change must be viewed with empathy — that that capacity to perceive the situation from the viewpoint of anoth person or persons. This I think is particularly important; the separ tion of personal bias from the collection and evaluation of data h always been essential for the research scientist. The trend is towar a similar separation as essential to the professional diagnosis of problems by personnel specialists. Skilful analysis of situations based on this kind of objectivity expands awareness and allows for the more intelligent application of solutions. So I am suggesting this is one thing that is becoming increasingly important for the personnel specialist.

Fear, insecurity, and resistance to change must be viewed with empathy if it as a concept is to be channelled without manipulation. This concept is not new in theory but it is not yet clearly established in practice. It has been well documented by Roethlisberger. The point is that people at work, executives as well as workers, are not creatures of logic. Fear of change, and resistance to it by those affected, must be regarded as manifestations of normal behaviour. We all react this way.

The second trend, and the one about which I will have most to say, reflects a growing balance between a focus on individual responses and that of behavioural systems in the context of change. Consider the following excerpt: this is from a book called *Organizational Stress: Studies in Role Conflict and Ambiguity,* by Kahn, Wolfe et al:

> "Organizations consist ultimately of the patterned and concerted activities of their members. Thus considered, each individual's 'role' in the organization consists of his part in the total pattern of activity. The study of the impact of an organization upon an individual, therefore, may be approached through the observation of the role behaviour of its members as they affect the individual."

Role behaviour is socially defined behaviour — the supervisor's role; the role of a union business agent — that is, the social concept of how a person in that role acts, in general terms.

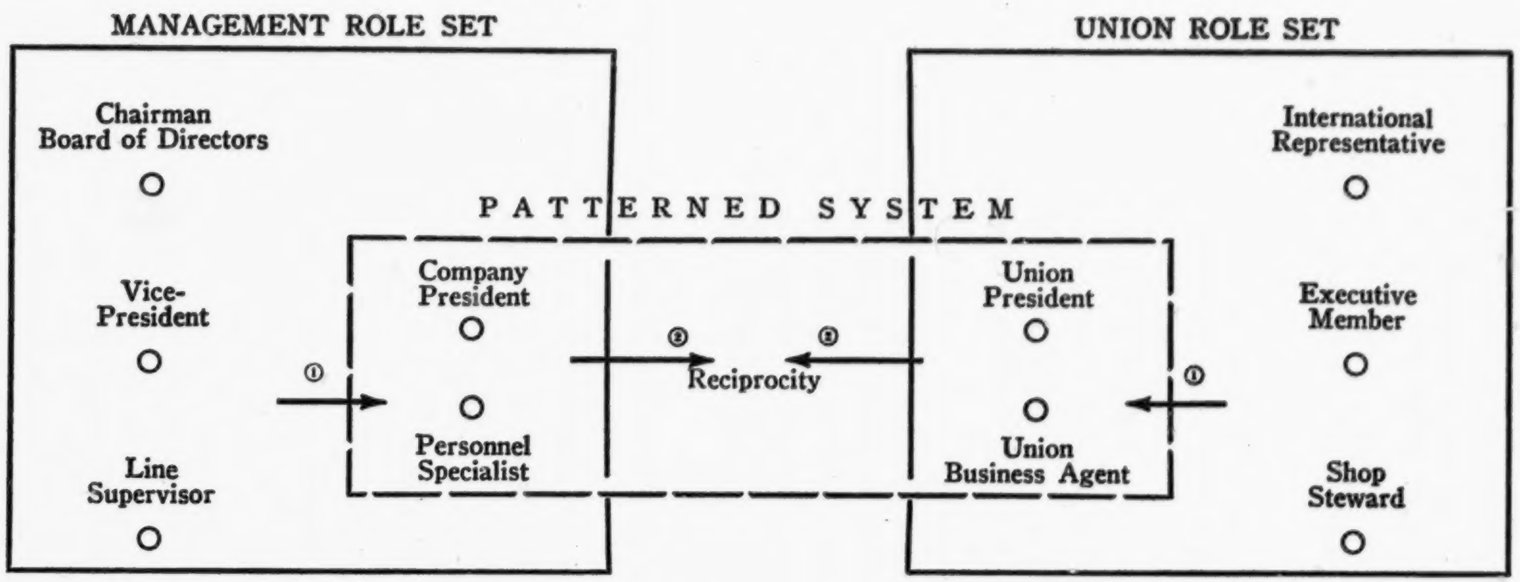
> "For any particular person it is useful to restrict our observations to the role behaviour of those members of the organization who have direct contact with him in the course of their work, the roles thus selected being labelled a 'role set'."

So, if you have three, or four, or six, or eight people who are related to one another in a work organization and they play roles in effect: here is the supervisor role, the role of the shop steward, the

A LABOUR-MANAGEMENT PATTERNED SYSTEM

as the

"ACTION MATRIX" FOR CHANGE


MANAGEMENT ROLE SET
UNION ROLE SET
Chairman Board of Directors
Vice-President
Line Supervisor
PATTERNED SYSTEM
Company President
Personnel Specialist
①
②
Reciprocity
②
Union President
Union Business Agent
①
International Representative
Executive Member
Shop Steward

(1) Arrows indicate primary role expectations from the role set
(2) Arrows indicate secondary role expectations from the "system"

role of skilled tradesmen, and unskilled, and so forth; these people talk to one another, work with one another day by day. These roles then become a role set, just really a set of roles.

> "It is a key assumption of this approach that the behaviour of any organizational performer is the product of motivational forces that derive in large part from the behaviour of members of his role set, because they constantly bring influence to bear upon him which serves to regulate his behaviour in accordance with the 'role expectations' they hold for him."

This means in effect that a first line supervisor might have as members of his role set people whom he supervises, plus his own immediate supervisor, plus some colleagues on the same level of other departments with whom he must relate constantly. His behaviour then in his supervisory role is conditioned and affected greatly by what all these other people expect of him. This is the context then within which we are trying to look at our topic today.

Until now, we have tended to be sensitive to individual needs and interests in our leadership and administrative practices, even to the point of considering groups of people as not much more than collections of individual personalities. When we try to deal with human behaviour from behavioural science perspectives we are inclined, I think, primarily to take the approach of psychology; focus upon the individual; look at individual needs, emotions, et cetera.

If we are to make use of important concepts emerging from the new discipline of organizational behaviour, we must add other dimensions to our conceptual framework, recognizing that the simple causation approach to human relationships is inadequate, not only for purposes of analysis, but also for effective action. That is to say, we are so inclined to try and analyse human behaviour in terms of one problem, one solution. This is just not valid. Why do people behave as they do? For a whole variety of reasons in a given context, and so the analysis is really, or should be, a multiple causational analysis.

Many reasons, all of which are relevant, and perhaps many solutions are of course much harder to handle than a simple causation approach, and that is one of the biggest problems of all. The word system as used above is designed to introduce another human dimension, that is aside from the individual one, which will, in my opinion, become as important to personnel administrators and other change agents as the personality perspective is at the present time.

Reciprocity is found within any organization and is difficult to define. A. W. Gouldner says that we owe others certain things because of what they have done previously for us, because of the history of previous interaction we have had with them. He suggests that a norm of reciprocity, a norm or a standard, in its universal form makes two inter-related minimal demands. First of all, people who feel reciprocity to one another should help those who have helped them; and secondly, people should not injure those who have helped them.

Feelings of reciprocity develop out of continuous interaction among people, so that in the role set we have talked about, the first line supervisor, the people he supervises, and his own supervisor work together, and do things for one another. They build up norms of reciprocity, certain feelings of trust and confidence — of rights and obligations toward one another, and oftentimes in a crisis those very feelings will enable people in a role set to handle the crisis creatively in all kinds of ingenious ways because of the cohesiveness of their role set, which they would not be able to do if that reciprocity did not exist.

So then, within any organization, there are many reciprocal systems involving social exchange between people whose roles and relationships are crucial in implementing, controlling or resisting change. If you are going to change something, then all kinds of these little patterned systems are going to have a great bearing on what happens to your action which you want to implement. These patterned systems represent the functional frames of reference within which the multiple causes and effects of constant change can be handled constructively and successfully in the interests of all affected.

Therefore, these systems are going on all the time, and if you want a change to be functional, here are the people who are handling all these factors, because they are hooked into these small systems. To them these are often much more meaningful facets of the organization than the organizational chart, and this is where the change is fed into the social machinery. Whether you know it or not, these systems have tremendous control over what happens to that change. I think there is fair evidence in that direction already.

A pertinent — well, I am going to use this as a basic example here — a pertinent example of these systems is often found in the patterned continuity of relationships between industrial relations personnel and local union leaders; they have well established ways of doing things in their continuing relationships because they are charged with the continuous administration of a collective agreement. Over time, and through the evolution of successful methods for handling problems and deviations, an emergent pattern of secondary role expectations evolves.

A role set for the union might include a union president, a union business agent, if there is a lot of administration, executive members of the union, shop stewards, and possibly an international representative of the union. These people are in constant contact with one another. They have certain expectations of one another, et cetera. They have a continuing relationship, and so therefore this is a role set. On the other hand, you may have the president of a company and the personnel specialist, and also a line supervisor, plus perhaps the vice-president of the company, plus the chairman of the Board of Directors. Now, this could constitute a role set on the management side.

When you bring these two role sets together to administer an agreement over two or three years, there are only a few members on each side who constantly interact with one another, day by day; perhaps the personnel specialist and the union business agent; perhaps the union president and the company president. So, one way and another, they come in constant contact day by day. They meet problems — deviations from the agreement. "What are we going to do about this or that?" Something is thus always coming up. However, they are charged with the job of day-by-day administration of that agreement, so that deviations and so forth do not explode into something very serious.

In the very task of trying to work together, these four people, the president of the union, the president of the company, the personnel specialist, the union business agent develop a system, reciprocity, rights and obligations to one another, because there is a give and take to this day-to-day administration, as all of you know who are involved in it. Because of this, feelings of reciprocity emerge, and they will develop to the point, presumably, where these people will find ways of handling crises that might be quite serious if this reciprocity did not exist. They will always find ways of doing this which will not violate their responsibility to the other members of their primary role set.

This is, therefore, the key: the development of a set of secondary role expectations with one another. However, this is a rather complex affair because those secondary expectations cannot take precedence over the primary expectations of their role set. If they do, then collusion, or accusations of collusion, arise primarily because other people in the role set behind these principles expect certain things of them, and if it looks as if the people in the system are getting too cosy with one another, then there are accusations about "selling the farm," et cetera, et cetera.

This patterned system which is in effect during the administration of a collective agreement is a rather delicate and sophisticated interaction process. It is complex; there are dangers because you cannot violate your integrity to your role set. The same thing applies if you think of the role set of the first line supervisor, who has certain responsibilities for getting a job done for his own supervisor. He therefore has a reason to expect certain rights from that supervisor. The first line supervisor constantly sits on the edge of a dilemma; the people who work for him expect certain things of him. His own supervisor may expect different things of him, and if those expectations clash in ways which that first line supervisor cannot resolve to everybody's satisfaction, he has also got some personal problems. He is in a stressful situation. Usually people in these patterns are people who are on the fringe of many role sets. In this sense, they work in patchy areas. They may be filled with insecurities and uncertainties, and yet they are hooked into all kinds of communications networks that can greatly affect what happens even to a top management mandate by the time it gets all the way down the organizational structure.

Let us suppose, then, that a new collective agreement has recently been signed which contains a clause setting forth the rights and responsibilities of both company and union to reflect upon and safeguard human values in the face of technological change. My hypothesis is that the *successful* implementation of specific technological changes will depend to a great extent on our awareness that the patterned system outlined here represents a matrix through which important action sequences must be channelled.

I hope that sentence makes some sense to you. I'm saying that if this kind of patterned system is in existence, and if you have a basic contractual agreement about worker displacement and technological change, when you come to the specific change being made in a given department, this kind of system represents a matrix. If you can start working towards change through this system, then individual variables in many departments and sections can be handled adequately. These are variables which are vitually impossible to handle otherwise, because they are too detailed and inconsistent for a "blanket" approach. It is undoubtedly true that the individual perceptions of people in this system and personalities of the representatives will constitute important variables in the change process — that is, the individual personalities of these people in this system are going to affect it — but no more so than the role expectations and factors of reciprocity. In any event, both personality and role, as essential ingredients in the formation of reciprocity, will be built into the secondary role expectations of the system. Those in the system *control* the many variables which any specific change brings into play. They are the people who can handle these variables at those key points where technology threatens human values.

Oftentimes senior management when introducing a change do not think too much about how a specific technological change may threaten human values, because they do not see this in specific terms. It is the line foreman who knows Joe and how Joe feels, and how long he has been here, and he knows all of the intricacies. He is a part of the system down the line, and is best equipped to handle these.

While a systems approach to business and industry is becoming popular in relation to the deployment of money, materials or machinery, a similar focus on human behaviour in organizations is only now receiving the concentrated attention of scholars. We are all speaking of systems now, in operations research, et cetera. We are just beginning to talk about this in terms of *people* in industry.

It may take a few tomorrows before academic concepts can be translated into working frames of reference, but present efforts hold great promise for the more effective implementation of change than we have been able to achieve in the past. This is going to be hard work; it is complex, and you will want to make changes. You will want to make them more rapidly and you are definitely going to have to deal with these kinds of things.

If we can comfortably conceive of total organizations as hierarchies of systems similar to the one previously outlined, we may have a manageable context within which to handle change processes in ways which will enhance rather than deny human values, thereby accelerating the rate of change instead of retarding it. We are fond of stating that change does not take place in a vacuum, but we are just beginning to establish the specific human framework in which change does take place. And an individual doesn't change by himself, nor does he change things by himself. He has to do this in a social context.

Too often in the past, changes have been introduced in business and industry on the assumption that all significant points of reference were outlined on the Organization Chart. Even now, many firms are oblivious to the forces and pressures that play upon human behaviour in the many small informal groups that make up the total organization. By circumscribing much of the behaviour in reciprocal relationships and by developing management policies and procedures which place limits on the flexibilities of application, employers unconsciously encourage the fear, insecurity, and resistance to change which they so often deplore.

Under these circumstances, resistance to change on the part of workers becomes in fact resistance to power held by employers. This threatens to disrupt the reciprocal balance between individuals who constitute the patterned systems most directly affected.

I was interested in the discussion earlier, after Harold Wilensky's presentation, that Mr. Waisglass raised, that people need to have meaningful functions — people who are young, people who are old. I say to you, people who are middle-aged have to have more meaningful functions too. There are all kinds of people who go through motions at work without feeling any functional relationship to what they are doing, and many of these people, in the process, become functionally related to these small groups. They develop norms and feelings of reciprocity. To them *these* are the real relationships that they have in the world of work; not the work they are doing on a particular machine, or what have you. And if a minor change is made concerning the machine's procedure it has a major effect because it may change the relationship between jobs and livelihood. If it does disrupt this relationship then it becomes a great deal more important, especially if it disrupts it by taking friends out who will lose their jobs, and so forth and so on.

Thus when we talk about resistance to change as if it were a bad thing we must ask, "How can we overcome it?" I say that under the kind of procedure that we have been using up to now it is really *resistance to power,* which threatens to disrupt this reciprocal balance between individuals who constitute these systems. Fear and insecurity in such circumstances can be clarified as not essentially fear of change, but rather as fear of *loss of control over change.*

There is no one in the world of work who has less to do with initiating change than the people at the bottom of the organization, and yet there is no one in the world of work who is more often and more constantly affected by change than those very people at the bottom, and they are organized to cope with it, in one way or another. Human energy and motivation which might have been channelled in constructive directions is dissipated in *survival* behaviour. They have got to survive, stay alive, in effect, and so they are working hard at that, instead of at implementing change which they feel threatens their survival.

We have known for many years of the disparity in the rates of change possible in the technical organization as against the social organization of an industry. In the Western Electric Company research conducted from 1927 to 1932, it was established that the social sentiments and customs of work of employees were unable to accommodate themselves to the rapid technical innovations introduced. Senior management can sit and dream up ideas quickly because they are creative people, and they can throw changes into the system. However, the workers throughout the system, and I am thinking of middle management and first line supervision as well as people on the machines, have all of these informal social organizations. They cannot adjust as rapidly as the changes can be introduced. The result then is resistance, if you want to call it that, certainly informal controls that may not necessarily develop things in the direction that senior management wants them to go.

We have now for the first time, through sensitivity to the importance of this patterned system as a change matrix, a working frame of reference in which to integrate technical and social organnization in order to minimize the disparity and avoid serious imbalance of what Argyris calls the "steady state."

If we make practical use of these concepts, however, we should recognize that it cannot be done superficially. It will mean a legitimate sharing of controls over change, not merely the dissemination of information about it. It will be more firmly established as a change in itself, the trend being away from the focus on power conflicts in the labour-management context. Conceivably it could result in a new organizational ethos, which is an anthropological term meaning the sum total of the varying values placed by members of an organization on the respective satisfactions or dissatisfactions to be derived from that organization. Somebody coming into an organization on the level of middle management has the general approach that he is going to get a great deal of satisfaction, and also put in a great deal as well. This has been called self-actualization.

Kicks! A middle management person looks at the organization as if it is a place where he is going to get a lot of real kicks, but the person coming in at the lower levels doesn't have that kind of ethos. He sees a very limited participation for himself. He does not expect much more, and we are speaking in great generalities, of course. But if he can control his own destiny a little bit, make a few friends, get recognition in a social context, have a decent take-home pay, and so forth, he is not looking for chances for self-actualization, not in the present organizational ethos. However, if he gets a chance through some of these systems for real control over change, then that ethos might conceivably change.

The long-term implications of this approach to change processes should not be underestimated. In recent months here in Canada we have found ourselves at certain points on the verge of revolution in labour-management relations. The traditional power struggle surrounding the rights of property versus the rights of persons has been the customary key factor. If such issues can be brought into better balance through the effective use of patterned systems in coping with change, on the internal organizational level initially, and subsequently on the interorganizational level, a new evolution in labour-management relations could emerge. You know, when we talk about this business of change, and the speed of change, we are not really sure where evolution becomes so rapid that it becomes *revolution,* and so we vacillate back and forth in this context without being really certain of our ground.

I am also interested in stability, not because I am a peacemaker, but because I think stability is essential to control, and if you are going to have evolution, you have got to have control over what is happening. So this kind of factor, it seems to me, can be important to everybody.

Through the continuity and reciprocity of these systems, the property investment of shareholders could be better adjusted to the life investment of workers. Rights and obligations could be held in balance, or kept in balance, in the face of changing roles and relationships between leaders on both sides. At the present time, however, no patterned systems exist between labour and management leaders on the national level, because there is not the structure, and because of this there is not the continuity, and you have to have continuity before these patterns begin to emerge.

The patterned system we have been using here, as an example, is one which links a compny role set with a comparable union role set. Because there usually is a different balance of power in these relationships from those characteristic of a completely internal patterned system, the impression might be left that any internal system could be used effectively as a change matrix without any alteration in the tradition leader-follower relationship between management and workers. This would, in my opinion, be a dangerous inference, because it would maintain the over-simplified perception of human relations and human communications which presently exists on a wide scale. It would preserve subtle assumptions that are seldom overtly challenged in the standard mechanistic line organization with its imbalance of power and control, thereby preventing optimum communication and creative consideration of many pertinent variables. That is to say, the labour-management pattern system that I talked about has a *balance* of power; it is *there.* But an internal system does not necessarily have it.

The first line supervisor as part of a patterned system, with his own superior and the people underneath, establishes a power imbalance in the *traditional* pattern, so you have to be very careful with this kind of thing. If we assume that discussions about change within patterned systems will reduce or eliminate arguments, we may quickly become disenchanted. If you really let people have some control over change, they will argue. This will most often be the case if this frame of reference is used effectively.

If you assume that there is a kind of balance of power, as a management member you might go into a system and say, "Here is a change we are going to make; let's put it into effect." You get all kinds of "yes, buts", all kinds of resistance, or supposed resistance, and all kinds of arguments that people will put forward. If those management representatives are accustomed to a dominant power position and lack sensitivity to the reciprocal balance of the patterned system, they will tend to perceive the ensuing interaction as a general disregard of authority and as a manifestation of increased resistance. That is the way they will perceive it if they do not really understand what happens in a reciprocal system.

Efforts by managers at communication based on the assumption, unconscious or otherwise, that the objective is indoctrination rather than consultation will tend to abort the problem-solving and decision-making process of the patterned system. On the other hand, if there is sufficient insight on all sides, coupled with strong reciprocal factors, established by prior social exchange, this kind of interaction should tend to produce mutually satisfactory adjustments from the confusion and complexity of working arguments. Just when you think the confusion and the argument are at their peak, and everything is going to blow up, that is when you find that these people have their fingers on the crucial things, and they can make all kinds of transitions much more smoothly than anybody else could do.

Although the patterned system as a change matrix is a spatial concept based on the role relationships of individuals who face responsibility for the performance of tasks and the maintenance of functions day-to-day, the factor of time is also extremely important. These systems are not to be confused with a simple series of meetings or conferences called for the express purpose, in this instance, of dealing with insecurity and resistance to change. As has been established previously by Seiler, each of these systems is a functional part of an organizational hierarchy and with a continuity directly related to it. The way in which the members of a system cope with a crisis or deviation from normal, whatever normal is, will depend to a great extent on the degree of reciprocity which exists — the sense of rights and obligations. Reciprocity, in turn, depends upon the length and nature of the pattern. Such groups are not structured *deliberately,* but are, rather, *discovered.* They exist in your system right now, in effect! They will not necessarily be obvious from a glance at the formal organization chart.

In a patterned system such as our labour-management example, patience surrounding the time factor is usually demanded by the balance of power. You know how it is in a labour-management circumstance; sometimes you are exasperated to the *nth* degree, but you cannot leave, because it is necessary to get the job done, and so you have to stay there, arguing, cajoling, talking, and working. In systems where contractual obligations do not force power balances of this kind, such as an internal system between a supervisor, his superior and his subordinates lack of sensitivity to the time factor may cause members in dominant power positions to resort to pressure and manipulation, thus aborting the process and nullifying the advantages of reciprocity.

With our steadily increasing knowledge of organizational behaviour and our growing skill in process-oriented and task-oriented sensitivity, we are now in a position to reconfirm the validity of past efforts by analysing the complexities of an effective change process. Through creative experimentation in business and industry, we should be able to find ways of lessening fear, insecurity, and resistance to change that will be more effective because they are consistent with the research findings of behavioural science. The task will require a new level of sophistication on the part of line executives and personnel specialists. It will not be easily accomplished. For Canadians, however, the shared experience of Expo '67 should serve in the future to blur the line between the difficult and the impossible.

DISCUSSION

QUESTION:

Professor Brookbank, would you care to comment or give your view on the Friedman Report, which, as you probably know well, gives the power of veto on the one side to change.

PROFESSOR BROOKBANK:

I will make this brief. My feeling at the time Mr. Justice Friedman came out with his report was that he had the right solution to the wrong problem. The problem is my opinion is not technological change. If change is a problem, then we are really in trouble, aren't we, because everything is changing all around us all the time. Are we going to stop it? No.

The problem, as I see it, is worker displacement, and so therefore my feeling is you cannot stop change, but you can control change, and I feel that a balance of power between labour and management over the control of change is the most important thing, especially if this is an honest balance of power, and if that control is really implemented so that details all down the line are handled by people on both sides. The Bowaters' Mersey plant in Liverpool is in my opinion an excellent example of change in this way — they set their basic policies, and they make specific change, and they talk in advance, and in the last analysis every single individual affected by that change has to receive consideration. It may be complex, but it looks from the operation at Bowaters' that it works pretty effectively.

[illegible]

Is it possible that in your position on the Friedman Report you might be making an implicit assumption that all change is good, or is it the assumption that these kinds of items apply only to legitimate change? Who is to say whether the legitimacy of change is not to be questioned in the normal relationships between union and management? Whether it be challenged? How would you determine the legitimacy of this?

PROFESSOR BROOKBANK:

I think that the first point you raised is precisely the crux of the problem, Mr. Waisglass. How can you say whether a change is good or bad? This is really going back to a simple causation concept, you see, that change may be good for some, bad for others, and there is, as I see it, no way of coming quickly to a judgment on something like this. This is why if you stop change, or try to end change, my view would be that those people who feel, rightly or wrongly, that change is essential will make it anyway.

It is one of the hidden strengths of our society that we get creative about things like that, and up to now it is my contention that employees have been controlling all kinds of changes, or exerting a great deal of control over changes. The control exerted over ratebusters is a prime example, and many managements have been unaware or insensitive to this. If the patterned system that I am talking about is utilized I would feel that you can make changes within a balance of interests. I may be a little ethereal here, but I do not see how you can use a patterned system manipulatively. This will not work, because there really is this balance of rights and obligations.

The big difference perhaps between a patterned system and others with a power imbalance is that if the thing begins to reflect manipulation, right away people who feel that they are being manipulated will say so in no uncertain terms, and as soon as they say that the people in other parts of the system have got to stop and think. You can only get this kind of direct communication if you have got a balance of power, and that balance comes sometimes through a real feeling of reciprocity.

[redacted]

I can see the value of constant control of change, but the problem that I am concerned with, which is becoming more serious each day, is that we do not have this change at a constant level, but rather at the year's end when top management starts reviewing its cost package, and begins to realize that its profit picture has been affected, disrupting everything, and at a moment's notice we have to marshal our members and try to make them realize that the company is in extreme danger and it is a matter of survival. We must now start to adjust our members to the conditions that we are confronted with. I think that is the major problem today.

PROFESSOR BROOKBANK:

I think this is very true indeed, and in the principles or the writings that have come forward on this matter of worker displacement, or technological change, practically everything that I have read stresses the time factor.

As soon as you know a change is going to be made let all your people know of it. The more time you have to work on it, the better you can handle these things.

PROFESSOR JOHN CRISPO (Director, Centre Industrial Relations, University of Toronto):

I would like to suggest that some of the things that you have been talking about we have been aware of for a fairly long time. I think in a sense you are putting new clothes on an old realization. You say that some of the findings go back at least thirty years, and you say recently management had objectives and now it is self-actualization; I do not know what it will be next month, but somebody will have something else, and I think what bothers me is that while I subscribe to this in theory, how do you go from the abstract to the concrete? This is where I get into difficulty, because you cannot go anywhere unless you assume good faith on both sides, and you are much more prepared to assume or accept the fact that I am. I think what I really want to ask you is: what do you do when there isn't good faith?

Let's come back to the questions that were asked a few minutes ago. Let's assume that there is no good faith, and you have a rough, tough union-management relationship, and you have got an issue, or something akin to it, a run-through issue, and there is not good faith. None of us can get them to sit down and reason like good men and recognize all of these things. Let me ask you a couple of concrete things. Are you prepared to advocate that we legislate advance notice and say management must in every case give six months' notice of anything it is thinking about? Are you further prepared to say we should go the American route and say we will not have any no-strike clauses in our legislation so that we are equalizing power? Are you prepared to say that in the absence of good faith then we shall have war, and maybe through war we will come to our senses next round. Is that what you are saying?

PROFESSOR BROOKBANK:

I think in the first place I am not, I hope, assuming that good faith automatically exists. What I am trying to say is that if you get a group of people in one of these patterned systems working together successfully over a period of time, coping with whatever their responsibilities are, then good faith, which is an oversimplification, emerges amongst these people, especially if it doesn't involve loss of integrity. I think there are circumstances where through these reciprocal patterned systems good faith emerges. Good faith amongst people in a patterned system may be directed against some other common enemy but does not mean that it goes beyond that particular border. Where this doesn't exist, then relationships, if they involve conflict, are based on power, and power is a give and take, back and forth, until a contractual arrangement is arrived at.

Once you get a contractual arrangement, it is not in itself an act of good faith, it is more a system that "you do this and we will do that" as long as everything is spelled out. Someone has got to implement that. I am suggesting that even if you get a contractual arrangement which has been reached only because it is pointless for one side to wield its power against the other for an indefinite length of time, it is still a kind of an armed truce. Out of the administration of that contract can develop this type of reciprocal patterned system. If the use of power is so strong on one side or another that you cannot arrive at a contractual arrangement because the balance is not there, then presumably people will move towards legislative measures, and I think this would have both good and bad effects.

I do not think it is realistic to look at any kind of solution as being good or bad. If there is to be a functional solution, unions will go through social policies. They will advocate minimum wage legislation, and they may be very instrumental in achieving that minimum wage legislation. They may put great amounts of time, money, and effort into this. When the minimum wage legislation comes out inevitably, or at least in the experiences I know, the union may get returned to them a number of forms of application for certification. So they go to these people who are in the process of being certified, and say to them, "What's wrong; aren't you going to join the union?" And they say, "No, no; the Government got this for us; we don't need you; the Government is acting as our business agent now." So you see it is multiple. I do not think there is a simple answer one way or another, and that is what we cannot get used to. My contention is that we have got to learn to live with this complexity. If we do not, then I think we are being naive.

CHAIRMAN:

I wonder if I might ask a question from the Chair? I find sometimes that theories by social scientists are very fascinating and I think intellectually stimulating. I am a little skeptical about how you transfer or transform a systems concept into an operational or empirical theory, but even assuming that you can transfer, that is move from the conceptual to the empirical level in your systems, can you in fact isolate the variables and measure them? I think you have two things: you have either a tool which explains something which has already happened, or if you have really gone very far in making your theory explicit and empirically valid, you have the tool which can change situations, which can result in certain outcomes.

It seems to me that in the kind of situation that you are discussing only a very small number of actors can have the tools and, therefore, possess means of analysing power. These are the ones, therefore, that are in a position to manipulate a situation. You see, the danger is that knowledge, since it is not universalized and belongs only to a few, becomes an instrument of manipulation and therefore, may in fact run counter to the possible stability in the system. What do you do?

PROFESSSOR BROOKBANK:

I think this is true. Once again I suppose it is a matter of how you define manipulation. Let me say that I think that where you focus on controls over change like this you are not identifying the variables. You are identifying as many as you can in your analysis of the problem or whatever. However, you know full well there are a great many variables that you cannot identify. You thus set up a control pattern when these variables do emerge, and you know full well that they are going to. You then have the controls to handle them. So that all your adjustments to change involve controlling, in effect, variables which are identified by others, rather than by your control group.

You eventually get to the point where you have to ask yourself, what is manipulation? For example, involving a union leader in this kind of patterned system is a hazardous experience, but I submit to you that union leaders are involved in this, day after day, all kinds of them. They have to make adjustments in working with management, and they see a lot of information about a problem which may not be seen by the rank and file. So they make adjustments which to them are sensible and do not involve loss of integrity, of themselves or of the people they represent. They then have to go back and maybe the people they represent will perceive this new adjustment as something which really has involved manipulation of them, so they say to their union leaders, "What are you doing; you've sold us out," et cetera, et cetera, and the union leader then has the task of interpreting.

Now, is he manipulating or is he not? The business of knowing what is manipulation is a fantastically difficult business in this world of greys. It is as Hal Wilensky says, you just cannot with one quick draw clean up the mess, and it may go back again to Harry Waisglass' comment earlier about morality, if you like — if the man is doing the best he can by the best light he has, then what else can he do?

The kind of thing that I have tried to define as a patterned system is anything but elaborate circumstance. I am suggesting that right now in Quebec-Hydro there are all kinds of these little systems in operation. These are people who feel certain rights and responsibilities in relation to one another and whatever they are able to control that affects them they will attempt to control in their own interest, or what they conceive to be their own interest.

A change might affect quite a number of these systems and if that change is introduced into these systems so that the systems are given more formal control over changes that affect them, my basic thesis is that this should enable you to cope with these changes more effectively, and to handle all the variables that arise because of them, on a mutually satisfactory basis.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

OBJECTIVITY

The separation of personal bias from the collection and evaluation of data has always been essential for the research scientist. The trend is towards a similar separation as essential to the professional diagnosis of problems by personnel specialists. Skilful analysis of situations, based on this kind of objectivity, expands awareness and allows for the more intelligent application of solutions.

EMPATHY

The capacity to perceive a situation from the viewpoint of another person or persons.

ROLE SET

Each office in an organization is related to certain others, usually through work flow, technology or authority structure, and these people are directly affected by the behaviour of the person who occupies the office. This functional relationship constitutes a role set.

ROLE EXPECTATIONS

All members of a person's role set depend upon his performance in some fashion. Because they have a stake in it, they develop beliefs and attitudes about what he should and should not do as part of his role.

SIMPLE CAUSATION

The assumption that effects often have single causes. Multiple causation is based on the premise that events are caused by many forces working in complex relation to each other.

RECIPROCITY

Very difficult to define fully. A. W. Gouldner says that we owe others certain things because of what they have previously done for us, because of the history of previous interaction we have had with them. He suggests that a norm of reciprocity, in its universal form, makes two inter-related minimal demands: (1) People should help those who have helped them; (2) People should not injure those who have helped them.

STEADY STATE

The organizational processes involved in maintaining an equilibrium or quasi-stability which often manifests itself as resistance to change.

FREEDOM IN THE AGE OF TECHNOLOGY

THE HONOURABLE JEAN MARCHAND
Minister of Manpower and Immigration

DR. H. ROCKE ROBERTSON (Principal, McGill University, Montreal):

My job is to introduce the speaker in this pre-dinner session that we are having as part of the Seventeenth Annual Conference, and it is a great pleasure to introduce the Honourable Jean Marchand, who is the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, whose profound experience in the labour movement in Quebec is matched only, I think, by his political acumen and by his popularity.

His has been an integral part in the awakening of Quebec in the vigorous strides Quebec is taking in the forefront of a rapidly changing industrial civilization. He has now extended his concern to the nation as a whole.

Such a man seems almost to be the voice of our resurgent technological boom, for he has grappled with its problems as they appear to the lives of working men and as they shift the economic and political equilibrium of our nation.

It has perhaps become axiomatic that ours is a decade shaped by accelerating technological change. The rewards that we taste and the difficulties which we must meet arrive in the way this change transforms our life, our search for freedom and happiness, our basic institutions, like those of the family and work, and indeed the very fabric of the marketplace and the nation. This is our challenge, and we are both proud and optimistic about having Mr. Marchand here to help us meet it.

He is speaking on Freedom in the Age of Technology, and I take pleasure in presenting to you the Honourable Jean Marchand.

THE HONOURABLE JEAN MARCHAND
(Minister of Manpower and Immigration):

The concept of freedom may mean many things to many people. I should, therefore, try to give you some terms of reference within which I plan to talk about the manpower problems of our time.

Freedom is more than the absence of cœrcion — that is a very strict definition. Put in positive terms, freedom is more than this, especially in our Age of Technology. It is having the opportunity to do things, including especially the opportunity to change, to adapt to change, to take advantage of the many benefits wrought by technological advances.

Our Age of Technology is bringing to us not only new products and new ways of doing things. It is changing our ways of working and earning a living, of teaching our children; indeed, it is bringing changes to all aspects of our lives. Furthermore, these changes are coming so rapidly that we sometimes do not have time to catch our breath and to become used to new things before still newer things are upon us.

Let me give you an example: suppose a new discovery or a new method of production replaces men by machinery in a factory. From the point of view of the factory owner the change may be good. His production costs may be reduced, thus making him more competitive on the home and foreign markets. His shareholders quite understandably foresee the prospect of big profits. And the growth of the economy is given a boost.

On the surface, then, everybody derives benefit from the technological change except, of course, the worker who has to be displaced. Left without a job and without earnings, the displaced worker and his family cannot enjoy the benefits that the rest of society derives from the change. In a real sense, too, he has suffered a loss of freedom.

Someone, somewhere, somehow, must act to restore the delicate balance between the interests of society and the opportunities of the individual. Faced with the vast and rapid changes of our revolutionary Age of Technology, the worker cannot act alone. The forces of change stacked against him are too powerful. They may even be too powerful for relatively small, though well organized, groups of men. The single most powerful force in our society, then, must act. And by this, I mean the government.

This is not to mean that government must counteract the forces of change, for if it tried to retard their advances it would interfere with the freedom of society itself to enjoy the benefits of changing technology. The government, therefore, must find ways to help the displaced worker, about whom I have been talking, to adjust to change. It must provide him with the opportunity to do so. This is not a simple task. I shall try to tell you what I believe can be achieved.

What can be done for the worker who after fifteen or twenty years on a job finds he can be replaced by a machine? Naturally, he will resent change and will think his world is collapsing. He must be given the opportunity to adjust, to master another job. That opportunity will not come to him out of the blue. We must attempt nevertheless to make it at all times available. This is one part of what the government, through the new Adult Occupational Training Act, is trying to do.

Without opportunity to adjust, freedom from want becomes a meaningless phrase. And the additional leisure made possible by automated methods of production will be an illusory thing. Some of us may get some of it. But the displaced worker, instead of more leisure to enjoy the fruits of machine-assisted labour, may well find he has all the leisure in the world to enjoy nothing and to suffer the misery of unemployment. This is the prospect we face unless people have full opportunities to retrain for new occupations.

I shall not repeat here in detail all the particulars of my department's Adult Occupational Training Program. I have said that many times. In essence, under this program we are ready to purchase for the worker the kind of training that will make it possible for him to adjust to the formidable changes of our time.

Here, if you allow me, I will speak a little bit in French:

Lorsqu'on veut parler de liberté et des changements technologiques, il faut savoir dans quelle condition la liberté peut s'exercer. Il n'est pas vrai que quelqu'un qui a faim soit libre. Il n'est pas vrai que quelqu'un qui soit dans un état d'insécurité permanent soit libre, c'est-à-dire que si nous pensons, enfin disons que pour illustrer ou imager ma pensée, si nous pensons au travailleur ou plutôt à l'habitant indoue, qui ne pense qu'à vivre d'une journée à l'autre, c'est-à-dire que son problème est de savoir s'il va avoir assez de calories pour pouvoir passer la journée, quand même que nous parlerions a cet homme de la liberté de la presse, de la liberté de la religion ou de la démocratie, cela ne veut rien dire pour lui. C'est-à-dire que la liberté, pour pouvoir exister, pour simplement fleurir ou exister, cette liberté a besoin que les hommes aient le nécessaire, non seulement le nécessaire, mais aussi, dans certaines circonstances, un certain superflu. C'est pourquoi, enfin, c'est ma conception très profonde, parler de la liberté à des hommes qui ne sont pas sûrs du lendemain, c'est parler d'une notion vide. C'est pourquoi, je dis qu'entre un certain monde que nous connaissons, enfin, notre monde, ou il y a plus de prospérité, ou, même les pauvres sont riches par rapport aux gens de l'Inde, bien, vouloir leur imposer cette conception de la liberté que nous avons, c'est de la grande illusion, parce que pour eux cela ne veut rien dire. Leur liberté à eux, ce serait d'abord de vivre à tous les jours, de manger. Et, pour les travailleurs, et, pour utiliser comme on dit une troisième langue, celle que nous connaissons tous ensemble, mutatis mutandis, pour les travailleurs dans la société, c'est la même chose, la liberté est possible pour la classe bien nantie ou pour la classe qu'on appelle bourgeoise, cela ne peut pas être la même notion que la liberté chez les travailleurs qui sont sous des conditions que nous ne connaissons pas et je n'ai pas utilisé le nous par hasard.

Quite obviously — this is just because I wanted to relate a little bit the concept of freedom with what I am talking about — quite obviously, the place to give this training is in provincial institutions which are best suited to prepare the actual training programs and give the training. Our role is that of a purchaser of a service — training — which the worker needs. With retraining, the worker will, I hope, be freer because his chances of employment will be broader. His opportunity to take advantage of, and live with, technological changes will be greater.

Quite obviously, not any kind of haphazardly chosen training will provide the worker with broader opportunities and so with greater freedom. The worker will have to be counselled on the chances for employment which this or that particular type of training will give him. Selection of a course of training based on mere whim will not be good enough. The worker will have to be well informed about the opportunities that will come his way after retraining. This will be a large part of the work of our manpower counsellors. To help them give sound advice they will have to know more about the short term and middle term prospects of the labour market. My department, therefore, is setting up the kind of labour market research and analysis facilities that will provide useful tools to the counsellor.

The mere availability of training opportunities is not enough. There will be no real incentive, no real opportunity for exercise of freedom, if the worker and his family go hungry and without shelter during his training period. He must have a replacement income which we call training allowances. These allowances are not handouts. If society wants change — and whether it wants to or not there will be change — it must be prepared to pay the consequences, and I must tell you that it will be quite expensive, much more expensive than I thought it would be. Some perhaps will be scandalized.

Retraining is not enough. New job opportunities will not necessarily arise in the community where the worker affected by industrial change now lives. Unless a man can finance a move for himself and his family, his opportunity for his enjoyment of freedom is limited. The need may be either financial assistance to help the individual to move, or incentives to prospective employers to establish in areas of under-employment.

Quite obviously, the mobility of the worker may be easier to sustain than the mobility of sources of employment. But that does not mean that we have to take the easy road just because it is easier, and forget the harder one which in the long term may provide better opportunities for our national growth. Just as the problems of automation and changing technology will be with us for years to come, so will the problems of regional development, especially in underdeveloped areas of the country. My hope is that some new and strengthened programs in this area can be developed in this field.

I was told when I discussed first this new program of mobility that it was wrong to give to the workers a certain amount of money because they were moving, and we even decided to give them a certain amount on their house, if they had to sell their house. But for me it is quite normal; if a man for fifteen or twenty years has worked to buy a house and at one moment you tell him, "Well, you must move. In the general interest of the economy and the society, you must move. You are going to lose on your house, and we are going to move you into an economic area where there is prosperity, and that means that you will have to pay more for your house. But this is going to have to be absorbed. If we were wrong at that time to tell you to go and work at a different place, this is unfortunate. We are not going to pay for that."

Well, I tell you and I suggest that the society as such should pay for that; it is not the problem of the worker. Of course, if he decides to move on his own, let him take his own responsibility, but if we say to people, say from Bell Island; "You shouldn't stay in Bell Island; there is no future in Bell Island for workers. As a society we tell you, Canadians, that you should move somewhere else — Manitoba, Vancouver, or Ontario, or even Quebec. It is in your own interests and in our interests."

I do not see why we should not pay for it. Why should he be supposed to absorb all this loss? I do not understand, and we decided to pay a certain amount, not a very large amount, only $500. I tell you that the only thing we recognzied at that time was the principle; later on I hope that we will recognize the real loss to the workers as such. No, otherwise I tell you that we cannot operate a new society, an industrial society, in 1967, if we do not accept what is the responsibility of the group, as a community. I tell you that we are aiming at trouble.

Another question that disturbs me greatly is the problem of finding jobs for the older worker. This is a very serious problem. Granted, it may be more difficult to retrain a man of forty-five than a younger man. Granted, most employers do not deliberately discriminate against older workers. I said most, but many of them do. But the fact remains that older workers as a general rule find it more difficult to find new jobs than the younger man. I think I can foresee natural reasons why, in a decade or so, the turning point at which age is not an unconscious or conscious factor in hiring may rise to fifty or fifty-five instead of forty or forty-five. This improvement is being assisted by the portability features of the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans, and by provincial legislation ensuring portability of private pension rights. But while these and other factors will lessen the difficulties, the problem of finding employment for the older worker remains real.

One thought I would like to leave with you this evening is this. Industry invests large sums each year for research and development in technology. It does so because of the need to compete and to grow and improve productive capacity. The same kind of development for manpower also provides benefits to employers. A higher capacity of people to adjust to change, and especially of older workers, is of direct benefit to industry. What is done now in this direction will help to relieve the increased pressures for skilled older workers that may be upon us in a few years. My department's Adult Occupational Training Program provides for assistance to industry in this regard.

These programs to which I have referred require much development. I do not pretend they are the solution for all time, or even for many years. But they are at least a response to our duty to protect the worker's freedom in our Age of Technology. They are a start. In time, and with experience, improvements will have to be made. Some ideas will have to be discarded and new concepts developed and implemented. My department is new but, like all other organizations which are vitally concerned by what happens in our changing technology, it too will soon have to make adjustments. I may assure you we will be prepared to change, in order to play our part in providing the opportunities our Canadian workers must have. The maintenance of freedom — of the opportunities for all Canadians to enjoy the fuller life that our Age of Technology promises — will demand adaptability of all of us.

Mais, en terminant, non seulement cela demande de l'adaptation, c'est sur que nous ne connaissons pas toutes les conditions, que ce sont des programmes nouveaux, des plans nouveaux qui auront probablement à être changés, mais, ce qui est important, et, c'est peut être ce qu'on est porté à oublier, c'est qu'il faut que nous ayions une vision de cette société nouvelle. Cette vision-là doit être à la mesure de l'homme, c'est-à-dire que si, dans nos changements de technique industrielle, nos modifications dans nos techniques de production, si, vraiment nous ne faisons pas un effort pour savoir ce qui adviendra des hommes dans ces modifications-là, et un effort sincère, non seulement, un effort intéressé à court terme, je vous dis que nous n'allons nulle part. Cette société sera inévitablement bouleversée, parce que les hommes n'accepteront pas à long terme que la société ne soit pas faite pour elle; on peut se disputer, on peut se quereller sur les techniques de production, sur les systèmes pour arriver à une production meilleure, mais les techniques qui conduisent à mépriser les hommes et à les négliger, ces techniques seront définitivement balayées par l'histoire contemporaine. Alors, de toute manière, disons qu'a l'intérieur d'un petit ministère que je dirige, qui est sûrement pas le plus important, ce que j'essaye de faire comprendre, c'est justement que dans tous ces changements, parce que nous voulons une

société industrielle, nous voulons être prospères, nous voulons nous développer, nous voulons subsister à côté de ce géant qui s'appelle les Etats-Unis, je vous dis qu'on ne pourra le faire qu'en tenant compte des hommes et mon ministère est là pour vous faire des suggestions, de manière a ce que dans les transformations, on tienne compte des êtres humains qui y sont impliqués. Merci beaucoup.

MODERN APPROACHES IN MANAGERIAL BEHAVIOUR

Leonard R. Sayles
Professor, Graduate School of Business
Columbia University

CHAIRMAN: *Stanley B. Frost*
Dean of the Faculty
Graduate Studies and Research
McGill University

Chairman:

My role this morning is a very simple one, and a very pleasant task. It is to introduce the speaker of the morning, Professor Leonard R. Sayles, who comes to us from the Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, where he heads their Division of Industrial Relations and Behavioural Systems. He began his university career in the University of Rochester and took his doctorate at M.I.T. and is a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

He is very well known for his field studies and research monographs, particularly in the areas of sociology and applied anthropology, and he has also been very active with the Society for Applied Anthropology.

Many of you, I am sure, will be familiar with his publications, which cover a wide field; I notice among them that there is not only a book entitled *Managerial Behaviour,* but there is also *Personnel,* which I am told is currently the most widely used text in that important field of our interest.

We are therefore very glad to have so distinguished a contributor as Professor Sayles here with us this morning. He is, as you know, going to talk to us on Modern Approaches in Managerial Behaviour, and we shall be very interested indeed to hear what he has to say.

Professor Sayles:

The task I have set for myself is to turn the tables, so to speak, on the approach that was given to this subject yesterday. I prefer

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to look at why management, perhaps even more than employees, while giving lip service to welcoming change and wishing to be dynamic, frequently does the contrary. Traditionally in this field one gets the impression that man's natural state is one in which conditions are static. It is assumed that aggressive employers must pressure reluctant employees to change. However, it has always seemed to me that this is a vast oversimplification. A lot of things we know about human beings in fact suggest quite the opposite. The very nature of mankind is associated with curiosity, response to stimuli, an enjoyment and even a relishing of diversity. Many things that we know from the field of human development suggest that these experiences are required for maturation, personality development, growth and satisfaction and distinguish us from other animals.

With respect to change and diversity being more normal than abnormal, one is reminded of a study by the historian, Professor Morison of M.I.T., about the introduction of the Bessemer steel process at the time of the American Civil War. Nine of the ten iron producing companies in existence at that time partially converted to steel production by using the Bessemer process. They did this by importing British labourers who had much experience with this technology. The tenth U.S. company did not at that time adopt the Bessemer process, but shortly thereafter did decide to train its own employees in this new technique. Within ten years the tenth company not only had the largest share of the market but the employees that had been trained in this technique felt that this method was dynamic and subject to change. This was in complete contrast to their static competitors. They constantly changed and improved what they were doing while the other nine companies assumed that they had perfection itself and, as a result, their version of the Bessemer process lagged far behind.

The subject I want to address myself to is what management can do to maintain an acceptance of change. In the process I hope to avoid the usual clichés of exhorting people that change is good, and promises of glorious benefits come to those who practise it successfully in terms of greater job security, greater earnings, et cetera.

Our workers of today, as our managers of today, have lived in an expansive period in a very dynamic world. They have become used to an enormous number of new techniques and new technologies. They have grown used to mobility, to enjoying new goods and services, to leading very different lives than they lived as children, or surely the lives that their parents lived. Let us look first then at what the wrong approaches are. What are the efforts that management sometimes seems to go out of its way to undertake that create in people this distaste for change?

The Need for Flexibility

Management often gives people the impression that change *is* unusual, is unnatural, and that as employees they shouldn't expect to change. I am thinking particularly of many things in the field that Dean Frost was so kind to mention in association with a particular textbook, *Personnel: The Human Problems of Management.* Job descriptions, for example, are always written in very static terms. An employee learns that he has a very explicit set of duties to perform, and that these are neatly compartmentalized and bounded, and that his payment, job rate, and so on are associated with these very fixed sets of duties. They are written in such a way that they give the impression that they are taken directly from Holy Writ, and employees learn particularly that when they are changed this usually means a cut in the rates or some other disadvantage. We know that there are many ways to write descriptions of jobs that do not have this sense of permanency. Job descriptions should indicate flux because there is always the possibility of a change in the nature of the job.

The very nature of accounting exemplifies this static condition by its emphasis upon lengthy fixed periods in which managers are held accountable for other outdated objectives. Budgets discourage many kinds of innovation during the budget period. As many managers have told me, the minute a budget is written and accepted it is already out of date. I was just recently in a company in which the marketing people were discovering tremendous numbers of new problems growing out of increasing competition, changing consumer tastes, and so on, and they were pressuring the heads of production to be more adaptive so as to allow them greater diversity in packaging and product size. However, manufacturing could not put these new designs in because it would hurt their budgets. They had committed themselves to certain costs for the year. They had committed themselves to certain labour standards for the year, and all of these changes that the marketing people were pressuring for would be strongly antagonistic to the kinds of things they as manufacturing people were being rewarded for by their budgets.

Needless to say, employees, when they are adaptive, clever and bright, learn much more from managers than most managers think they do. They see that change is given lip service, at best. They see that it is really a punishing experience that one should avoid at all costs. Thus management creates an environment that essentially says to people, "If you don't change you will be successful, and if change is forced upon you in some way you personally are going to pay a high price for it." If anything, managers tend to pay a higher price and are in effect more dissuaded from change than the hourly workers to whom we address so much attention.

Another negative feature in the environment for change that management creates is timing. For reasons that I am sure are obvious to most of you, change is often introduced at the worst possible time, namely at a time when the economic situation has turned downward — when there is talk in the wind of unemployment or cut-back. It is said, "If we don't do this we will go under, or some of you will lose your seniority or your tenure."

After this come the long periods of prosperity when things are going very well, when management couldn't care less about innovation, or so it would appear in many organizations, and all sorts of increasing costs are allowed to accumulate. In this period of lush living many get the impression that there will be no end to this and that hard work and efficiency have gone out of style. This then suddenly terminates when a drastic situation occurs and someone discovers that costs have gotten out of line and other firms have surpassed them in new equipment and new procedures. Suddenly, at the worst possible time, everyone gets excited about introducing change. Many managers, of course, do not really understand change. They do not understand the process of change, and as a result they fail to do those kinds of things that might be appropriate in the process of introducing change.

The Environment of Change

The first aspect of the process that I think is not well understood is one we have already alluded to, and that is that managers are as much a part of the problem as are employees. The worst possible situation that one frequently sees is the one in which supervisors collude with employees to resist the introduction of change. In other words, the supervisors in a particular department or group feel equally threatened by the new procedures or equipment, while at staff meetings they give lip service to it. "It is the employees who are holding things back," they say. However, back with the boys, it is just the opposite. They find a variety of ways to encourage the men, or the union, which frequently can speak for the supervisors more easily than they can speak for themselves, to present objections and in a sense save their own situation by resisting the new techniques.

In addition, while I may have inferred that these are lower management problems, upper management is typically less enthusiastic than one would think about change. A new book has just been published in the United States by Donald A. Schon, *Technology and Change: The New Heraclitus.* The author's thesis is the one I stated a moment ago, that managers on paper are very excited about innovation and invention, but when they see what is entailed in this and while they continue to give lip service to the idea that dynamism is good, they react very differently. Change involves for them a giving up of the known for the unknown. In a sense, all the parameters they have used for making calculations in the market place or in the manufacturing, along with the certainty that they know the right answer, can be destroyed by innovations. Their self-confidence as well as their management skills can be severely injured and they can become more dependent upon others. Thus, new ideas and procedures are often vetoed because management finds this dependency to be unacceptable.

In addition to problems such as this one finds change threatening the competitive status relationships among managers themselves. In the New York banking industry one of the factors that has slowed down the effective use of computers in banks is the fact that computers started out as a "backroom" device. They were back where all the clerks and calculators used to be, and these were essentially low status operations. The people on the rugs out in front who dealt with the customers had all the prestige in these organizations. They had the diningroom privileges and could always tell the people in the back room what to do because they were their hand servants. Well, suddenly there was the need to start hiring a lot of computer specialists, system specialists and expensive programmers, and they get the idea that they are important, that the equipment and its internal logic ought to be shaping what the people out front are doing. The competition as to who is to defer to whom, and which is the most important group in the organization becomes one of the most serious deterrents to a smooth introduction of this vital new equipment.

Management also consistently underestimates the time required to develop a new system so that it is running smoothly. There are numerous examples in which the typical time period required to implement a new procedure or a new technology often differs from the original estimates by a factor of three hundred or four hundred per cent. I remember when the airlines began developing computers for customer reservations. Their time estimates were off by a factor of years. My recollection is that they originally estimated that this whole reservations system would take three or four years to put in, and it actually took seven or eight years before it really was working effectively. In addition, the cost estimates of research and development work are usually off by a factor of about the same magnitude.

As the real costs and the real time period begin to become clear to people, managers become very upset. They usually have their "necks out" and begin putting pressure on those people who seem to be in the way, who are not working fast enough and not adapting fast enough. The result is often panic. This demonstrates to most people that the whole thing was a mistake in the first place, or that it will never work. It is no wonder that employees get very restless because they frequently bear the brunt of what has been management's mistake and failure to take into account the really long periods required for implementing change. One of the reasons that change does take such a long period to implement is that it often destroys what have been closely timed patterns of coordination. To give an example, the U.S. Navy frequently is able to train destroyer crews to use new electronic gear in a week or two while the ship is in port. However, it takes about six months at sea to learn to operate the equipment efficiently, effectively, smoothly, and harmoniously. These smooth, synchronized patterns of inter-worker and inter-management relationships take long months to develop and most estimates of the problem of introducing change totally fail to take into account that extensive learning period.

Another reason this occurs is that management really does not understand the give and take in jobs. In other words, they see most jobs as neat compartments. If a person does a particular task correctly things work out well, and managers fail to see how much cross talk, how much exchange of information, how much mutual persuasion and influence is necessary between jobs for work to be done effectively. Failing to appreciate that very few jobs are neatly compartmentalized and most jobs require a great deal of mutual give and take, they naturally fail to understand the problems for individual jobs that are created by change. We have seen this in the last five or ten years, by the way, in a very major American corporation. Its new president about ten years ago learned that organizational structure is actually modifiable, and he began to see changes in structure as a useful way to modify relationships among managers. That was an important thing to learn but unfortunately he learned it too well, and this particular corporation, which is still a very successful one, introduces structural changes in its management organization every couple of months. As some of the managers say, you sort of have to read the bulletin boards to know whom you are working for, otherwise you may forget and lose out. The effect, of course, is that team work, the mutual give and take, the adjustments that we talked about, are very badly injured by this constant introduction of structural change.

There is almost no such thing as a simple change. Things that look in fact like a minor change, one new little gadget, one new little computer terminal on your desk, frequently ramify throughout the total organization. Many of you are familiar, I am sure, with the classic case of this: Professor William Whyte's description of the bartenders clashing with waitresses over who came first and what did you really order, and your handwriting is no good, or you are too slow, and so on. All this battling was totally changed by the introduction of a little bit of equipment, namely a nail and a piece of wood on which you put the orders rather than talking to each other — the spindle. The introduction of the spindle revolutionized the relationship between the bartenders and the girls because it kept them apart. This was a major change in their relationship.

Another aspect of the process of change that I think is poorly understood is that management fails to consider the status of particular groups that are going to be most subjected to the change. After all, there is a great deal of change going on in most organizations all the time. Groups change their relative position often because of their own efforts to improve their perquisites and to improve their status — to gain benefits for themselves and to gain recognition for themselves. In the process of improving their position others often decline in status.

Management itself often does a number of things to help some departments become more important and gain more recognition while other departments frequently lose out. As we know from community studies and other kinds of research, an individual or a group that is going downhill is downwardly mobile, and tends to be highly defensive. In other words, if somebody is already suffering from his relative position being injured by the kinds of inevitable changes that occur in all organizations, he is the one who is clearly going to be most critical of the potential impact of change if he can possibly interpret this as another slap at his position. Thus you find that groups that are on the upswing, whose importance in organization is increasing because of their critical position, become much more optimistic and much more receptive to innovation than those groups which are on the decline. These latter groups are very sensitive, and will interpret almost anything you do as potentially threatening or as injuring their relative positions.

Suggested Approaches to the Problems of Change

In the remaining time let us shift from a negative point of view to a more positive one and try to suggest some things that management can do for its own sake, as well as for the sake of its employees, to facilitate the introduction of change. Many of these suggestions flow rather obviously from what I have already said. Among these is the recommendation that the introduction of new equipment and new procedures and new processes has to be dealt with as a total systems problem. Management needs to look at the full impact of these changes on a total variety of jobs being considered. You cannot merely look at what appears to be the focal point or the point at which change is actually introduced.

Management should never assume that it will in fact have anticipated all the problems. This is one of the traditional mistakes in this field; the view that carefully thinking through what we know about people and what we know about situations, we can say, "Old

Joe will give us trouble, but the girls in Department *X* are cooperative, and this is going to create some conflict over here, but we can deal with that," and so on. I have never seen an organizational change in which one can really predict all of the impact. Successful adaptation requires a flexibility of mind, a willingness and preparation for constantly responding to challenges, criticism, and a receptivity to new ideas from the people who are most affected.

Again there are a number of implications in this, and in the anthropological field it is often put this way — that developed countries make a serious mistake in dealing with underdeveloped countries by assuming the donor gives to a passive recipient. This never works! If you are going to get things accepted, you must be prepared to greet positively a number of proposals and criticisms from the people affected, and their ideas often will be very crucial, not just for the sake of their participation, but because they will actually see the bugs and see the problems that you have not predicted. Some years ago I was studying a company that was moving an assembly line from one part of the plant to another, and the engineers had done a really fine job in studying all the work involved. But they then decided to show the workers the new location and ask them how they liked the job and whether they had criticism. They were simply flabbergasted by the number of criticisms and suggestions that these people had. To managers some of them may have seemed trivial but to the people involved they were really quite important. For example, the women discovered that there was no place to keep their purses in the new location. This is the sort of obvious thing that no man would ever think of — and why should they — that women want some place to keep whatever they keep in those things. On the not so trivial level the managers discovered that workers knew much more about their problems of exchanging materials and moving materials along than the engineers knew, and many slight physical changes in the way the line was located, and the way certain parts were located from the employees' point of view made an enormous difference in their ability to do the new job. Over time the engineers were quite surprised at how much these people could contribute.

In this area of participation or of accepting criticisms and challenges from those who are supposed to adapt to change, I think management frequently makes a mistake in endeavouring to distinguish between grievances and criticisms and suggestions. When people are being displaced it is necessary that they do some inconvenient and unpleasant things while management initiates and pressures much more. One anticipates that people are going to react to this by more criticisms, more complaints, and a variety of other methods of showing their stress. I think it is a mistake to think you can distinguish between legitimate suggestions for change because "what you are trying to do to me really is impractical," and what are only the screams of "I'm unhappy" that people will make. Management unfortunately frequently gets itself in this position because people often say things that appear irrational, or they appear merely to be dragging their feet. They also ignore what is the more constructive content.

The point is simply that one anticipates in an organization undergoing change that there will be a number of upward initiations from people endeavouring to react to what is for them in the short run uncomfortable. Management has to be prepared for reactions from those people that come through the union and those that do not. Managers should not say, "Because some of these things don't make sense to us, you are obviously just being an obstructionist."

One of the classic studies in industrial relations was done at the I.B.M. Company six or eight years ago when management introduced a new work standards program. I.B.M. had been a company that had emphasized over the years the absence of specific production standards. What they had was a type of informal agreement between the worker and his supervisor, and the company had always assumed that the introduction and imposition of specific standards would injure the very good relationship they had with their employees. When it became obvious that labour-cost problems were growing, it was decided to introduce work standards, saying in effect, "On this job you have to do so much per day." This "so much" was an engineered standard. I.B.M.'s Personnel Research group noticed that in some parts of the organization employees accepted this fairly well and in other parts of the organization they fought it "tooth and nail." From the point of view of social science it is always interesting to have everything else the same except one variable. What was responsible for this?

Management assumed that the new standards would be accepted in those departments where the supervisor had clearly explained them, had communicated well, and the workers had clearly understood what was going on. This turned out to be hardly relevant at all. What was relevant was having a supervisor who in fact was willing to fight for the employees when there was a mistake if the employee could convince the supervisor that the standards were wrong and a supervisor that would represent the employees to a higher level of management. The opposite of this was having a supervisor who simply said, "I can't do anything about it," or "Those engineers, I distrust them as much as you do." Where the supervisor was not in fact a representative of the men they fought him every inch of the way.

Another proposal I would like to make for the introduction of change is a greater sensitivity to symbols within the organization. We could spend a lot of time on this, but just let me suggest that many elements in an organization have emotional values far beyond their apparent real value. Many people in New York City get excited when they see beatniks burning flags on Fifth Avenue. This is considered very poor form although it is easy to replace a flag. People get very upset because the flag has emotional connotations and values going far beyond the material or the objective value of the flag. Needless to say, within an organization there are many elements that have meanings to people that go far beyond their apparent objective value. During the introduction of change it may be convenient to displace a given employee. Maybe early retirement, for example, would make a great deal of sense. The employee himself might not resent this terribly, but he just may. This does not occur often but it occasionally happens that an employee who represents to people everything that is good about the organization is forcibly retired. In introducing change it seems to me management can be sensitive to what may be procedures, or people, or activities, to which there is a great deal more emotional content than might be apparent at first.

Another proposal I would make for facilitating the introduction of change grows out of my experience in engineering and development organizations, where people learn over time to adjust to a variety of groups. In other words, they belong to a project group for a period. They do something and then the project group is disbanded and new groups are formed around new projects. There are obviously many jobs to which this is not applicable but I think we can do much more experimenting in a lot of organizations. We could experiment with the possibility of having multiple "homes" or base camps. It may be that the employee is given a home base for social support and a variety of other bases which keep changing over a period of time — homes away from home, so to speak. Social support is a crucial element in general satisfaction. I think we can help people develop the capacity for enjoying multiple homes and for getting used to regroupings.

Finally, as a positive suggestion let me call your attention to the need for thinking through the behavioural components of jobs as a result of change. Looking at automated manufacturing plants we see many supervisors who were used to getting the group together each morning and giving job assignments. After the change the workers would still come to the supervisor for new assignments but these workers discovered that the new technology really did not require this kind of contact. The workers knew more in a sense than the supervisors knew and they did not need these constant stops and starts which required this supervisory intervention. However, many supervisors kept doing it anyway because they had this energy. They were used to these kinds of relationships, and what were they going to do if they did not do this? How could they have any status unless they were initiating, directing, and having people respond to them? This was a means of maintaining one's own self-confidence even if these orders were not required.

What I am proposing is that management in changing technology think through what kinds of new behaviour are required to take the place of those which have been removed or modified. In this case for example, the supervisor should have been shown and helped to evolve new relationships with some of the staff, maintenance, and plant groups, and introduced to a variety of other ways of using that energy, so that he did not merely maintain what were old routines that were essentially irrelevant to this new technology.

Perhaps one way of summarizing this talk is to suggest that I am afraid that for too long change has been thought of as a very simple, rational process. The term "planning for change" I think is symptomatic of this. It assumes that if we plan carefully we can schedule precisely all the things that need to be done, estimate the cost and time, give appropriate assignments to everybody, and then everything will fall into place. It seems to me this is highly naive and that one cannot plan precisely and rationally in advance. I think this whole approach is one of the unfortunate leftovers from the scientific management era: first you plan, then you give orders, then you check back, and so on, as though this were a nice, sequential process.

It is impossible to predict all of the problems. The true costs and the true impacts only become clear after you get into them — maybe that's fortunate, by the way, otherwise you would never do anything. The key to success for management is constant re-adaptation, fast footwork, improvisation, appropriate response. Five year plans, to take a typical example, incorporate neat sequential stages of planning ahead, making the schedule, checking up whether it has been done, and punishing those who have not done it. This concept is extremely naive in terms of the dynamic world we live in. It not only permeates what we tell workers but also the whole of management.

Successful management is simply adaptive management that is constantly ready to respond to new pressures, to new stresses, to seek solutions to problems that were not predicted. The constantly unpredictable shifts what happens in response to these new problems and develops organizational forms, accounting, controls, et cetera. They measure people in terms of their responsiveness to new stresses and strains rather than controls and incentives and rewards that measure people in terms of their ability to meet old standards, old criteria, and old jobs that were established long before the problems occured. Therefore the problem of facilitating change is truly a problem of changing our conception of management rather than convincing reluctant workers that they can have a better world if they become more flexible.

DISCUSSION

DR. CRISPO:

Would I be misleading myself if I were to interpret the last few things you said, which I found to be really your major point, that in a sense you cannot worry about all these things in advance, because you haven't got the slightest idea of how many people are going to get uppity when you start fiddling around with jobs and people's expectations. So you must try to think this through and in the final analysis perhaps, as management, you should just proceed like a bull in a china shop. But when people start shooting at you, adapt.

That is probably an oversimplication, but if I were a manager this would appeal to me: try to think about a thing in advance, though you cannot worry about every problem that will arise, so manage. However, when you manage realize that people are going to get upset about what you are doing, and they are going to start shooting; and don't duck, just adapt.

PROFESSOR SAYLES:

Let me slightly modify your interpretation. One of the meanings I tried to give to the myth of planning and the real ability to predict is not simply that you cannot predict people's reactions, but I think you also cannot predict the true meaning of change in the various technical parameters and technical factors as well, aside from human reactions. What may appear to be a modest new product or a modest new invention may really require, physically and technically speaking, much more in the way of implementation than could in fact be foreseen.

On the second part of your comment, when you say just manage, it reminds me of what many economists say about management and administration. They assume that everybody knows what it is and that it is not very much of a problem. However, the real heart of the matter from the point of view of economists and, I am afraid, some people who talk about management, is the correct, bright policy decisions. For the rest of the matter, you just manage.

Now, "just manage," it seems to me is an enormous understatement. In most organizations, administrative response, that is the capacity to deal with all of the problems that arise, to negotiate with all the interested parties and arrive at a reasonably decent consensus, to be able to cope with what seems to be an irrational and never-ending series of difficulties, to have the time and the energy to be able to deal with all of the groups and individuals that arise is by no means a simple process. It is an enormously challenging and difficult task that I feel rather few people have the capacity to engage in. It turns out, whether you are talking about the U.S. space program or a new product in the XYZ company, that the capacity to administer is more than the ability to make the correct technical decisions. It is really the most difficult part of the introduction of change, and this has to be done in a sensitive and adaptive fashion.

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

On this point, I think your enthusiasm for adaptive management is consistent with Defence Secretary McNamara's enthusiasm for cost-benefit analysis or for systems analysts who are in his office along with his whiz kids. What they did with the Polaris submarine strikes me as not being divine intervention and not trivial at all. Through a cost-benefit analysis of a very sophisticated kind, Secretary McNamara came to the conclusion that the President would have perhaps a few hours, once he had committed bombers to the air, to decide whether or not to destroy the world after a Soviet strike. It was seen that Polaris submarines would give us an enormous advantage of a week for a presidential decision because they could be dispersed and the missile sites could be hardened. This was Mr. McNamara's intervention, not divine intervention. It was cost-benefit analysis which did it. I like those more benign examples that our guests in the back room gave, and I think they are widely applicable, although, this too is subject to variation.

QUESTION:

At the risk of being a bit old-fashioned and probably being considered on the shelf, I would like to hear what your opinion is as to experience on success of introducing change when the sensitivity training approach is used, which includes the use of the so-called management grid. I think this is quite apropos because a fair number of people in this area have been moving in this direction, and some of us old-fashioned people have been saying that maybe there is something to be learned about new styles, but we are questioning the results a great deal.

PROFESSOR SAYLES:

I am quite willing to believe that all of us, particularly at the adult level, can learn something about the way we affect other people concerning our styles of interpersonal relationship. I have seen this done in a variety of ways, many of which seem to me to be both more ethical, less expensive, and less dangerous than that which is typically called sensitivity training, which strikes me as one of the more difficult, expensive ways to provide people with some feedback as to how they affect other people.

However, while I think this is very useful for all human beings, I do disagree with some of the implications. Among these is that change, or the resistance to change, is simply a matter of misunderstanding, or failure to communicate, failure to be open, and so on, and for "sensitized" people to do a better job than "unsensitized" people. I do not agree with this. It seems to me that in many aspects of social and organizational life clear, unambiguous communication is not what we are seeking at all and that there is a whole variety of reasons why we have and make effective use of defence mechanisms, of saying things unclearly because we do not want to accept, for example, labour-management relations. There are many times where we ought not to, it seems to me, tell people exactly what we think of them, and they certainly ought not to tell us exactly what they think of us, assuming we are going to continue any kind of relationship.

PROFESSOR BROOKBANK:

I would like to make a few points concerning sensitivity training. Sensitivity training may be one way for individuals who are accustomed to close control to see how even subconsciously their methods of working are such that they still hold this control even when they think they are letting it go.

Process-orientated sensitivity, the kind that you get when you go to Bethel, only tackles in my opinion one dimension of the problem, because it is completely unstructured and the individual just looks at himself as one individual in relation to other individuals. However, the kinds of experiments that are going on now with internal sensitivity training, where all the members of a given department may sit down and start a sensitivity training experience, is significantly different, in my opinion. It is no longer unstructured. There are definite structured relationships between personnel; they have status; they have roles; they have functional relationships to one another and to other members in the system; and I would think in general terms that experiments along these lines may give some leads as to how controls can be shared so that individuals can give these up. It is also so that in the process other people still within the system can begin to accept other responsibilities and actually to make a practical change at the same time that the individual goes through a personal kind of change.

PROFESSOR FERNAND MARTIN (Labour College of Canada):

Professor Sayles, you made a few statements that rather surprised me. You said that managers do not understand change. You said that they do not know, they cannot make cost estimates, at least they make some that are always off the mark. You also said that management does not understand or comprehend the relationship between jobs. Besides that, you come out in the end with some solutions to the problems, and you recommend that we deal with what you call the total system — that is, to see the whole thing as a total system. I try to understand that, and I think you mean that they will have to trace the impact of any decision, all the impacts, all the effects of a decision.

I see a bit of inconsistency there, because if you do not know all the things, how can you do overall planning? It seems to me that the more complete the planning, the more extensive, the more accurate should be your forecast, and you also increase the amount of information necessary for contemplating the decision you make. Therefore, I think we must go back to some partial analysis where we cannot trace all the effects, but we hope that we have traced the main ones, and after that you take John Crispo's idea to try to duck if something happens.

PROFESSOR SAYLES:

My answer is, of course, that there is no contradiction, even though on the surface it would appear to be a slight contradiction. As in so many other aspects of human endeavour, one makes certain efforts and also prepares for the failures of those efforts. Management recognizes that changes are not easily compartmentalized, that many people must be involved in the kind of process that some of you have defined. When all of the predictions are made at the outset, and these predictions are necessary for certain kinds of initial decisions to be made, only a certain number of these will work out, and the capacity of management to adapt further to change assignments, to roll with the punches, and not to become panic-stricken at the unexpected turn of events, or costs, will be as crucial as the breadth of the original plans.

When one speaks of national planning in France and the Netherlands one hears a great deal about the care with which various pressure groups are brought together and their interests are taken into account — the unions, the workers, the managers, and so on. Unfortunately, rather little attention is paid to the fairly tough problems that ensue afterwards when bottlenecks arise out of the original plans. It is not at all that I am throwing out planning, but what I am saying is that this is only one of a continuing series of steps in this process of adaptation to change.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN CANADA — THE PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEE

PETER BRIANT
Vice-Dean of Commerce
Professor of Economics
McGill University

CHAIRMAN: *Perry Meyer, Associate Professor of Law, McGill University*

CHAIRMAN:

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a distinct pleasure to have the opportunity of presenting this afternoon's speaker who is going to talk on New Directions in Industrial Relations in Canada, with specific reference to the professional employee.

Professor Briant is extremely active in work concerning professionals, to give you an example of some of the jobs that he has done recently, and is currently doing. He has helped as the Economic Adviser to the Protestant Teachers' Association in Montreal. I do not know how many of you are familiar with our peculiar educational setup; it is divided along religious lines, and it is quite complex. Professor Briant has been negotiating with the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal for the Protestant teachers, and I think has done a very commendable job on their behalf. He has obtained a great deal of valuable personal experience and I am personally aware of his extreme objectivity exemplified in the fact that while negotiating for one client he is very well able to see the defects in that client's position, although he might be a little more conscious of what is wrong with the position of the employer when he is acting for the employees.

Another example of his current operations is his activity on the McGill University Teachers' Association Committee concerning the possibility of incorporating our Association. I am a member of the same committee which is also looking into the question of whether we should or should not be certified as a bargaining unit; whether we should adopt the stance of a professional association and a negotiating agency or maintain the dignified and ineffectual position of an association. Dr. Briant will expand on this point in the course of the afternoon.

PROFESSOR BRIANT:

I propose to narrow the range of my talk because of the huge scope such a topic entails, and to share with you a case analysis of the Protestant teachers in Quebec with some reference to the nurses, since I have had an association with both of them as an adviser, particularly in the case of teachers. But going on my experience with the McGill Association of University Teachers and some of the work I have done for the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants, my own professional association, I think that I may be able to derive some conclusions of general application to present to you.

Basically what I have to say would be, if I remember Professor Brookbank's term correctly, a microsociological analysis. I mention that because you have to bear in mind that I am an economist. I might make some extreme sociological errors in my analysis and I hope the sociologists here will excuse them.

I realize, to start, that the Protestant teachers in Quebec are not one of the sixteen "full corporations" in that province, to use the phrase that Professor Jean-Réal Cardin used at the Toronto Conference on Collective Bargaining for professional employees. The teachers used to be able to contract out of the Association after six months of membership. However, the experience of the teachers in collective bargaining does provide, I think, an indication of the problems and opportunities facing the more complete professions, and provides some insight into the trends that are developing among professional employees in their relations with large organizations, particularly government and quasi-government ones.

I should like to point out initially that there are other significant differences between the teachers and other full professional corporations. For one thing, there is a very high proportion of women among the membership of teachers' associations in Quebec. This is not so in Ontario, where the men and women have their separate associations, and they stratify themselves by the kind of school they teach in. In Quebec, the associations generally have more than fifty per cent of their membership women. Professor Wilensky mentioned yesterday that an increasing number of women are going into the work force. Perhaps the Teachers' Association presages some of the things to come in other professional associations.

Secondly, nearly all of the membership works for school boards, which we might call quasi-governmental bodies, in contrast with, for example, the Institute of Chartered Accountants, at least fifty per cent of whose members are in private practice. (Quite frequently people seem to associate practising as a professional with practising in a private office on behalf of a number of clients). Another difference is that there is a lack of homogeneity in the qualifications of the members in the Teachers' Associations; the minimum requirement for admission used to be one year in the Teachers' College. Some members, however, have Bachelor's Degrees, some have Master's Degrees in addition to their Teacher's Diploma.

A fourth distinction is that the professional association has no control over admission to the practice of the profession. The certificates in Quebec are issued by the Department of Education. In contrast to the professional engineers the administrators in the association, that is the principals and vice-principals in the schools, regional directors, and supervisors, invariably supervise their fellow professionals, while engineers are frequently supervising employees who are not members of their professional association, or are not professionals in industry at all.

Finally, one problem that I have personally noticed in developing a professional esprit throughout the teaching body, that is among the Protestant teachers, is the high proportion of transient members who come to Canada for one or two years and earn a living by teaching in the public schools. However, despite the presence of contracting out and other features, in the Protestant Teachers' Association in Quebec nearly all professional teachers — those who regard themselves as teachers as their occupation in life, including the regional directors and even more senior officials in the school system — belong to the Association.

I do not propose to discuss the meaning of the terms profession or professional; I do not think we will get very far with that approach. Society seems to be elevating the position of the partial professions, such as teachers and nurses, and reducing the power of the wholly professional associations such as law and medicine, which if you are not a lawyer or a physician, is probably a good thing. This all seems to be part of the process of the drive for equality and the crumbling of the old authoritarian structures in society. The lawyers and the law, true to their traditionally reactionary posture, are lagging far behind the social realities of the situation.

Now some additional background on the teachers' associations, since I think it is important to get the picture because of future references in this paper and my association with the organization.

I first became associated with the Protestant teachers in this province in early 1965, when I was invited to be Chairman of a P.A.P.T. Commission or Task Force. This was not really a moonlighting activity. It was an inquiry and report into the role of the Association in the life of the teacher. This was the first rumbling of discontent and the first expression of the feelings of the teachers that the Association was not playing the dynamic role in their professional life that was expected of it.

The Commission reported in December 1965. All fifty-three of its recommendations were adopted unanimously at the Provincial Delegates' Conference in January 1966, including a recommendation calling for the quadrupling of the average annual fee, with the bulk of the additional funds to go to professional development educational programs. I mention this since it is an indication of the desire of the teachers for professional qualifications and competence, and their willingness to pay what was to them a fairly heavy price.

In early 1966, which was after we submitted the report, the Commission was asked to continue its work and to investigate and report on the professional desirability of teachers incorporating under the Professional Syndicates Act, which had been used by other professional associations as a vehicle for organizing for collective bargaining, or of certifying under the Labour Code. The Commission recommended certification under the Labour Code.

In the remainder of this paper I plan to review with you the arguments underlying the recommendation of the Commission, the motives that caused the teachers to accept the recommendation, the problems, costs, and benefits arising from the process of certification, and to present some conclusions based on the experience with the teachers. I shall make reference to Bill 25 very briefly, the situation now, and then derive some general conclusions about the professional employee and collective bargaining in Canada today.

Firstly, the Commission's recommendation: the recommendation of the Study Commission that the Teachers' Associations become certified under the Labour Code rested on six arguments: first, the Commission was convinced of the inevitability of greater provincial direction of education in the very near future. At the time the Commission did its work, the provincial government was supplying fifty-one per cent of all the funds needed for education in the province's elementary and public schools. The public, through the provincial government, has in fact become very clearly the majority shareholder in the school system on a provincial-wide basis. Thus it seemed to the members of the Commission that the teachers needed to legalize their status and have their acquired rights documented in a legal agreement.

Secondly, the three members of the Commission, the two teacher members and myself, feared the possibility of their association being raided by one of the Quebec labour unions. I will not mention which one it is, but if there are people in here from one of the two major unions, they might know. It may seem paradoxical, but the union argued to the teachers, and we had evidence of the union organizers being around the schools, that economic improvement would be the best route to professional development and that through membership in the union the teachers would best be able to achieve their professional goals. The fear of the two members of the Commission of the union entering into the picture was not based merely on the distaste for having members of the professional association also holding membership in a union. It was really a fear that the entire association would be absorbed if the union were to be particularly successful in achieving economic gains for the teachers.

The third argument: I personally became convinced that despite the existence of what were referred to as collective agreements between the teachers and the school boards, the teachers had never really negotiated with the boards, and had never really developed what you would call, I am sure, a collective agreement. So far as I could determine, the pattern used to be that the teachers presented briefs prior to the expiry of their agreement, which really were very little more than statements of faith. The boards congratulated the teachers on having done a fine job of research and making such a wonderful presentation, filed away the brief for six months, and then called the teachers back simply to divide up a pie that had been determined unilaterally.

In some cases we found as well that the boards did not always abide by the terms of the collective agreement, even where it existed, and that the teachers had no means of enforcing the boards to adhere to the terms. This gave rise to inequities in the application of the salary scale, with the inequity depending upon the bargaining power and negotiating skills of the individual teachers. There were numerous cases that could have been catalogued of boards taking brand new teachers and starting them at steps 4 or 5 on the scale just to get them away from another board.

I also felt that the boards were highly authoritarian. They were naturally conservative, although the men on the boards were trying to do their best. There was some chance that an outside shock, such as the certification of the teachers in their area, would be just the thing needed to start some changes in the system. If salaries were driven up, it might hasten improvements such as computerization of records and the use of modern teaching techniques, which many boards had not really begun to investigate.

The fourth argument was that it seemed to us that bargaining under the Labour Code would provide a businesslike set of procedures for conducting negotiations. And negotiations, as I am sure you can imagine, had not always been handled in a businesslike way and in an orderly manner up to that point.

The fifth argument was that the situation in Quebec was such that there was the imminence of the influx of technical and vocational teachers into the educational system. The Commission, therefore, thought that the teachers already in the system might have very different career goals from the teachers who would be entering into the system to teach technical and vocational subjects, so that it would be advantageous for the teachers again to have their position carefully stated in proper documents.

Finally, item number six was that we thought that collective bargaining by teachers who consider themselves to be on the road to full professional development was compatible with the achievement of the professional goal. It was compatible, for example, with the development of expertise since expertise would clearly be more readily acquired as the economic welfare of the teachers improved. Nor did it seem to the Commission that collective bargaining would be incompatible with the sense of public duty and public service associated with professionalism, since it was felt that the new powers acquired through certification under the Labour Code would not be abused by the teachers in the employ of the Protestant schools.

What is the motivation of the teachers? Not all teachers, of course, were willing to accept the recommendations, but a fairly high proportion did. I have divided these motivations into psychological and sociological factors. This is based on my own personal observations and not on research. I think I have made the distinction between psychological motives and the sociological environment correctly.

On the psychological side it seems to me that the overwhelming factor causing the teachers to turn towards what we might call, for want of a better term, the union route was the feeling that the gains they would achieve through more forceful collective bargaining as a certified bargaining unit would satisfy their needs for self-esteem and public esteem. Certification seemed to them to be an easy means to raise their social status which, in turn, would enhance their image of themselves. There was great concern among the teachers that the relative and absolute status of teachers in society was deteriorating quickly, relative to the status of others. It was about this time, we should recall, that the Seaway workers were awarded their increase of thirty per cent, and groups who were being used to increases of three or four per cent could not help but feel that their relative position economically, and therefore their overall social status, were suffering.

A further need that I sensed was most noticeable among teachers from the United Kingdom, who seemed to regard themselves strictly as employees. These people argued that it was inconceivable that an employee on the level that teachers are could really be a professional. The teachers who thought this revealed the need to reinforce this view and to satisfy their security needs through having their employee status firmly recognized, and almost codified, in a collective agreement. The teachers who adopted the view that they were employees revealed feelings that they were caught in an impersonal bureaucracy and were subject to inconsistent and arbitrary decisions by the teacher-managers. They firmly desired to reduce the area of uncertainty and the terms and conditions of employment and to eliminate the paternalism demonstrated by the school boards and some of the teacher administrators.

This tendency to regard oneself as an employee was most noticeable on the Island of Montreal where there are three thousand or more teachers in the employ of the Protestant School Board. The teachers in Montreal were certainly in a bureaucratic environment which, despite, I am sure, the very best efforts of the Board, was tending to become increasingly impersonal. Off the Island of Montreal, the break-even level seemed to be at about two hundred teachers. In the smaller boards with less than two hundred teachers, there was a rapport between the principals, the teachers, and the boards. In these boards the teachers were generally not in favour of certification nor even of collective bargaining as it is usually conceived. However, in boards with over two hundred employees there was much less rapport between the three groups most directly involved in the school system, and certification was accepted as a policy more readily.

The third psychological factor to my mind was the resentment among the teachers at the failure of the school boards to use the teachers' expertise in the government of the system. The teachers naturally took the view that they were pedagogues and should have some say in the design of the schools and the development of the curricula. Whereas they had some, they did not think that they had enough. As a result of what the teachers considered to be this failure on the part of the boards, it was relatively easy for the teachers to decide to use the legitimate and coercive power that stems from a certified association when the exercise of what they consider to be their expert power was denied to them. This happens when they are unable to achieve the personal involvement which is associated with individualism among professionals.

From the sociological point of view, the teachers seem to be caught between the bureaucracy of the school board and the bureaucracy of their own Association, which tended to be dominated by administrators such as principals and vice-principals. Where a local was not so dominated and a regular classroom teacher achieved a position of leadership in the local, the school board usually promoted the teacher, who then fairly quickly acquired the attitudes and values of an administrator.

Perhaps without even realizing it, the teachers were encountering the problem of achieving individual expression in a society which was becoming increasingly communal. Family ties in Quebec at that time were tending to break down, and there seemed to be a greater feeling of individualism and a demand by individuals to be treated as human beings. This demand is being increasingly realized through group action in Quebec, and the disease, if it was a disease, was caught by the Protestant teachers. Also, the teachers had to become used to negotiating and compromising and realizing to some extent their individual objectives within their Association. Then they came to realize that their Association was not successful, or was not as successful as they wanted it to be, in helping them to achieve their objectives in its dealings with other organizations outside. Hence, individual aspirations and expectations were not being realized through the Association as it was organized and constituted.

We must remember as well that the early 1960's were years of total social disruption and change in the Province of Quebec, with the breakdown of communal forms of solidarity and stability and the rejection of the traditional regulative ethics in society. This was an era in which nothing was sacred, such as the primary duty and responsibility of the teachers to their students and to the public, and an era in which the view was certainly developed that almost anything goes. There was, for instance, the example of the Catholic teachers, who were doing better by negotiating under the Labour Code than the Protestant teachers were outside the Code. This came as a tremendous shock to the Protestant teachers who thought that they were economically and professionally very far ahead of their Catholic confrères. They were perhaps in the same position as England is relative to the Common Market: they did not want to be odd man out. The labour unions and the Catholic teachers had proved that certification could pay economically and the Protestant teachers decided they wanted to join in.

It is important to note that I have not mentioned the strike. There was never any mention of the strike as one of the benefits that would be acquired by negotiating under the Labour Code. In fact, just exactly the opposite was the case. The teachers hesitated about certification because through certification they would acquire the right to strike. The regulative ethic worked to that extent.

Nor as a matter of fact was there much mention of economic improvement. I found that the teachers really did not understand economic matters. They appear to be mesmerized by large figures.

For example, they will reject a 10-year salary scale peaking at $10,000 in favour of a 15-year scale peaking at $12,000 even when you can illustrate to them that their lifetime earnings would be higher under the first scale than under the second. They tend to relate economic factors to their own value and to social status and public esteem and consequently misjudge the economic aspects of their agreement through subjective evaluations.

I shall now turn to the problem and costs associated with professional employees organizing for all out collective bargaining, as I see them. There was, of course, the problem of determining the appropriate unit for collective bargaining purposes, of determining who would be included in the certified association and who would be excluded. The solution to this problem shows signs of splitting the association. Although the administrators — that is the principals, vice-principals, supervisors, and regional directors in the school system — are affected by the outcome of collective negotiations of the teacher employees, and they negotiate separately for any added stipend for their administrative responsibilities, they were excluded from the certified unit. The administrators, therefore, became very disturbed and, I understand, are now looking for some way to organize themselves into a *syndicat de cadre,* the middle management type of syndicate peculiar to Quebec.

Tangible evidence that the splitting of the Association is the outcome of certification for collective bargaining was reported in *La Presse* on May 5 of this year. In the C.I.C., the French Canadian Teachers' Association, the regional directors have withdrawn from the Association. It was reported in *La Presse* that they thought that association with the C.I.C. was too difficult and that the C.I.C. had little or no objective with which they could associate themselves. Mr. Laliberté, the President of the C.I.C., is reported to have stated that *syndicalisme des cadres* will now be borne in the Province of Quebec. I observed the same split among the nurses. When I spoke to a meeting of nurses in one of the hospitals in Montreal on the advantages and disadvantages of certification, all of the head nurses were absent on direct instructions of the Executive Director of the hospital through the Nursing Supervisor.

Thus, certification not only can split the Association but it can lead to the loss of those with ability and experience in the direction of the Association. It also makes it even more possible for the boards to weaken the Associations with which they have to bargain by drawing the active leaders out of the Association, making them administrators, so that they will have to leave the Association. I do not say that this will be used, but it seems to me that it would be an important weakness inherent in the present situation with the definition of employee under the Labour Code in its application to professional employees.

The second problem that we faced concerned the most appropriate organizational structure for certification purposes. This might sound hard to believe if you are associated with a union, but a professional association has to think through this one very carefully indeed. Some teachers wanted to have their local units certified through the provincial body, with the provincial body holding the certificate. This approach was rejected by the Association itself since the executive was so largely controlled by administrator members who would be excluded from the membership of the certified local. It was also rejected for the same reason by the Labour Board which said that the Association was management-dominated. So a second possibility was to have the locals certified as separate units. This meant rewriting the constitutions of the locals and requesting administrators to stay away from meetings concerned with economic matters. Parenthetically I might say that in the case of one local I heard that the principals were excluded not only from the economic meetings butfrom professional meetings as well. This was a measure of the satisfaction the teachers derived from telling the principals not to turn up at their meetings — not very professional of them. There was also the danger with the approach that certification of the locals would actually change the nature and purpose of the professional association so that it would become increasingly dominated by economic considerations.

There was a third possibility and that was to develop separate certified organizations at the local level so that teachers as a group in a certified unit would step out of their association for purposes of certification. Some locals opted for this route and I understand that this is to be the pattern in the future.

This appears to be the best approach but there are still problems associated with it. There is the danger that the economic unit might well become the dominant one in the life of the professional member, nullifying the work of the professional association itself. There is also a temptation for the economic units to form a separate or provincial association from the locals of the certified associations, or they might associate with a union. To overcome this I know that the possibility has been discussed of having an economic council within the professional association, but there is a problem here too, because the economic decisions of the separate local organizations would still have to be approved by committees of which administrators might well be in the majority, if the administrators stay in the association.

The third problem, which I think is readily understandable, was the lack of skilled negotiators. Teachers negotiating under the Code required more ability than the negotiators ever had in the past. It was soon found that certification does not, in itself, make good negotiators out of poor ones. To solve this problem, the association organized training sessions with role-playing at least once a month. I frequently found myself in the unenviable position of playing the role of a member of the local school board.

The fourth problem was the whole question of the social appropriateness of collective bargaining for professional employees, or for people who considered themselves and desired to be regarded as professional employees. Collective bargaining necessarily incorporates the principle of collectivity, which may be at variance with the sense of individual responsibility for development inherent in professionalism. Generally speaking, a collective agreement usually implies the regulation of all things. But it is impossible to negotiate the higher value of one of two people when both are doing ostensibly the same work. It is possible to include the why, when, and how much of work, but it is not possible to include how the work is to be done. The regulator of the how has to be the individual or another member of the profession who, if he is a manager, has to step out as a manager. This problem of recognizing merit is a very real one. The Montreal teachers have developed what is called the "master teacher" concept by which the teachers, through a committee in conjunction with the board and administrators in its membership, will select teachers evidencing special merit, in much the same way as professors in universities are selected for Chairs. This is one attempt — nobody knows whether it will be successful or not — to overcome the inflexibility of a collectively negotiated salary scale which does not appear to be wholly appropriate for professional people.

Also associated with this problem arising from collective bargaining is the existence of the grievance procedure. The Labour Code defines the procedure, as I'm sure you all know; thus the idea of a grievance is present as soon as the Code is embraced. I find the concept of professional grievance hard to accept, for with the introduction of such a procedure, movement under the code seems to lead to the loss of self-control of the professional association by the professionals. There may not be the same need for self-control in the labour union since the work done by its members is usually fairly repetitive. But the professional does not want control of all facets of his work to be handled by a grievance procedure. He relies on a professional code of ethics. In the case of one of the locals in the Protestant Teachers' Association, the membership was so disturbed by the details of the grievance procedure, among other things, in the proposed collective agreement that the agreement was eventually not presented as a proposed agreement to the school board in its original formulation.

Thus, there is some indication that the problems of inflexibility and grievances indicate that there is a danger of the principle of collectivity for professionals breaking down the professional nature of the job and the professional orientation of the association.

A fifth problem to my mind is that there is an incompatibility between the countervailing power concept of collective bargaining and the pronounced desire for greater democracy in school government. Here I am only talking about schools and universities. The withdrawal of the administrators, for example, from the Teachers' Association might well frustrate the application of Quebec Regulation 1, which calls for more government by teachers within the local school systems. For professionals such as professors, teachers, and nurses in hospitals this is an important point.

A sixth problem, and I think the last: in a change as dramatic as moving from professionalism to some form of unionism, there is bound to be some adverse public and professional reaction. The public regards professionals as privileged groups anyway, and the public is not willing to tolerate collective action, especially if the power derived from collectivity is abused. We had a clear indication from the experience of the Catholic teachers in Quebec of what happens when professionals abuse the powers accorded to them by society.

There is still a seventh problem: some teachers were so against legalizing collective bargaining that they withdrew from the Association. Many of the younger, better qualified members moved to other provinces or out of teaching altogether. They exercised the mobility which comes from professional expertise. This is the mobility that Mr. Marchand said last night he wishes to foster, not just among professionals, but among labour groups generally. Offsetting the costs there were some benefits, I am glad to say. However, there are not nearly as many benefits as there are problems and costs.

Certification, as far as I can see, led to a better, more viable organization and more grassroots participation by the membership. In as many locals as possible small groups of twenty teachers were organized, so that during negotiations with the school boards data required in negotiations and not previously developed could be obtained either in the lunch hour or just overnight. This was good for the teachers. They felt actively involved during the negotiations, and it was a useful exercise for the school boards to find just how quickly new facts could be presented to them at the bargaining table.

The second benefit was that as soon as there was talk of more activity, there were more aggressive new leaders coming to the front in the Association at the local level. These were invariably young, articulate, poised, extremely intelligent, and professionally ambitious. I would guess that there were only a few locals in which the old administrators remained as the head and the senior people in the local. It is fair to say that none of the gains that were achieved up to Bill 25 could have been been achieved without the leadership provided by these new, young, professionally-oriented leaders.

Counterbalancing the change in leadership in the locals were changes in the case of some school boards among the board members who were negotiating. In some boards new members appeared on the negotiating committees. These were young businessmen, often with professional qualifications, a sincere interest in education, and flexible, imaginative minds, coupled with an ability and willingness to negotiate. They treated the teachers somewhat differently than the teachers had been dealt with in the past. They negotiated diligently and in good faith, and acknowledged that the teachers were serious, and should be taken seriously.

I should now like to draw some conclusions about the specific case of the teachers before moving on to Bill 25, together with the more general conclusions that seem to me to apply to professionals at this time.

First of all, where there is an authoritarian or paternalistic board as the employer, endeavouring to maintain the status quo, which is to treat the teachers either despotically or paternalistically, there seems to be no alternative at present to collective bargaining under the Labour Code to initiate the necessary changes. I do not think that teachers are being unprofessional when they resort to this route, provided they exercise their powers carefully. In fact, they are being far more unprofessional by accepting the lowly status of employees who are not treated with the dignity that professionals expect to be accorded, and who are not afforded the opportunity to become fully involved and achieve the sense of self-fulfilment that is necessary for the true professional.

Secondly, however, I would say that unless the negotiators are extremely able, the first course is less desirable than the true avenue of professional regulation for professionals who are employees, which is the one that lends itself to employee-management government by the professionals. Thus, where a school board voluntarily treated the teachers with dignity, paid professional salaries, provided professional working conditions, incorporated the teachers in school government and conducted negotiations in a professional manner, that is with both parties sitting on the same side of the table, with the children in the area as a common problem for them, the pressure to bargain collectively under the Labour Code was not then present. Nor was there any need for the teachers in this situation to want to resort to collective bargaining as against what we could call collective discussions and consultation.

The third conclusion is that many teachers in certified associations have stated that the Quebec Labour Code is not appropriate for professionals and we could say this perhaps about any Labour Code across the country. I have already mentioned the rigidity and inflexibility inherent in a comprehensive collective agreement and the unprofessionalism of the grievance procedure. I have also been told that the Code gives too much power to the leaders of the teachers in comparison to the leaders of the union. I am on weak ground here because I frankly have no measure of how much power it gives, but in one local one leader felt strongly on this point, so the local and the school board as a first step in their collective bargaining established a professional relations committee. This committee through time discussed the provisions and terms of a collective agreement and fairly frequently referred back to the school board and the members. Decisions of the committee were mandatory on the school board as well as on the teachers for acceptance because the composition of the committee was such that the teachers had to convince at least one member of the school board, and the school board had to convince at least one member of the teachers' committee, of the correctness of their position. If there was a standoff the recommendation was put aside and considered later on, after they had had more time to think about it. Also, at any time, members of the local or the school board could submit proposals to the committee for its consideration and recommendations. This local so far as I know was the first to develop its collective agreement with the board, and at no time were there any problems until Bill 25 appeared. A committee such as this is not provided for in the Labour Code, and they broke some new ground.

Some teachers said that instead of adopting the Labour Code the teachers should have devoted their efforts to trying to get a separate code which would provide a system of law and a system of procedures that was acceptable to them. That is what they got, although they were not consulted about the details, when in February the government passed Bill 25. I do not propose to recapitulate the details of the ten tense days during which Bill 25 was being enacted. I shall confine myself to mentioning four items that I think might be of interest to you.

Since the passage of the Bill, all P.A.P.T. locals are now certifying under the Labour Code or are negotiating as recognized associations. Fifty-five per cent of the membership of 6,300 are now covered by collective agreements through such an association; seventy-five per cent will be covered by the end of May. The major reason for the acceleration in the case of certification — the major reasons, there is more than one — are said to be the fear of provincial negotiations, a fear of absorption by other groups, and a desire for legal recognition of their present status and acquired rights.

A second resulting aspect of Bill 25 makes teaching in Quebec a closed profession. The government names specific associations which may bargain with it on behalf of the members, so that all teachers have to belong to one of three Teachers' Associations in the province. Strangely enough, the potential *syndicat des cadres,* such as the Quebec Association of Protestant School Administrators, are not included in or represented at the negotiations. This then is a real problem that has arisen in this area.

Thirdly, the teachers in the Protestant system have a problem of coordinating their objectives with those of other associations, and perhaps have to consider federating with other associations. However, if the teachers federate into one Teachers' Association the English-speaking Protestant and Catholic teachers are going to be very greatly outnumbered by the 50,000 French-Canadian teachers, and would therefore stand a chance of losing some of their independence. I have heard it suggested that perhaps they should federate with a labour union so that they would not be completely overwhelmed by other teachers in the province. I leave it to you to decide whether that would be the correct route.

The fourth aspect, and by far the most delicate problem that now exists, arises from the teachers in the province having two employers, thereby placing them in double jeopardy. They have to negotiate with the provincial government, but are still, I believe, technically in the employ of the school board. The questions have not yet been settled as to what will be negotiated provincially. If everything is dealt with at the provincial level and incorporated into a collective agreement with the government, there still will have to be room for local interpretation by the direct employer. If only financial matters were negotiated provincially for all members of the profession, through the three associations, then the provincial association would concern itself solely with economic affairs. The locals in this case would have to concern themselves with professional development programs and school government and for that purpose would have to negotiate with the local boards. As one person said, "Who are you going to strike if you are mad at both parties? You are going to have to strike on alternate days, or something."

If these things can be settled harmoniously I think the general turn of events will be desirable because the opposite situation really exists now. The provincial body is concerned with professional matters and the locals are overwhelmingly concerned with economic matters. The only thing they wanted to discuss at local meetings was economic welfare. However, there is the possibility that this might be taken out of the hands of the locals. I frankly do not know, but this seems to be quite probable.

What general conclusions are there that we can arrive at, based not only on teachers, but on professors, and work I have done with other groups? It seems to me that there are three avenues for professionals employed today in a large organization.

First of all they can rely on the power of professional expertise; their ability and willingness to get another job, and their willingness to exercise mobility. This is the avenue that has been adopted by professionals in industry who cannot ethically negotiate collectively with the employer organization. Clearly the professional in industry cannot be party to top management secrets and be on the management side of the table when negotiating with some other employees. This is the position many lawyers and chartered accountants, being still technically employees, find themselves in today. They negotiate collectively as professionals and in conjunction with other professionals with a management which is not sitting on the same side of the table as perhaps it was the previous day.

The essence of individualism and freedom along this avenue is the power of individual alternatives. It leaves the employer organization free to remain, if it wishes, authoritarian, or partially authoritarian, and it also assumes the existence of alternative employment opportunities. The exercise of mobility is the true route, to my mind, for a professional. This course may perhaps in the future be used more outside of private industry as the level of professional competence increases and professionals working for public organizations find that alternative job opportunities provide one of the best options during private individual negotiations.

A second possible avenue, where it is practicable for the professionals in employee and management positions to sit together in committees to develop organizational policies, goals, and plans, is employee-management government. This approach, I think, would be appropriate for universities, schools, and hospitals. Where it is adopted there is no need for collective bargaining since, as I mentioned earlier, the countervailing power concept of collective bargaining would be surely incompatible with the notion of organizational self-government by professionals. It would not be feasible again for professionals to participate in policy formulation one day and sit on the opposite side of the table and bargain collectively with their confrères the next. Employee-management government does not preclude the exercise of mobility, but mobility is expensive, psychologically disturbing to some, and to others is not a feasible alternative at all.

One danger that must be guarded against in this approach is that participation in government is at times incompatible with the need for the professional to be free to develop and maintain his expertise. Those of you in universities might have found that with greater self-government you are forever rushing off to attend committee meetings and using time that might be devoted to research. This problem can easily be overcome, however, by having an excellent bureaucracy subordinate to the professionals in the employ of the university.

The second problem here, that Professor McIntyre of Guelph University has brought to my attention, is the difficulty of having the employee participate in making difficult managerial decisions. It is the kind of problem the labour government in England faced when it was put into power in 1945 and suddenly became the management dealing with the unions. I do not know the solution to that one.

The third possibility where mobility is not desired or is unavailable to the professional, and employee-management government is not feasible, as in the Civil Service or Quebec Hydro, seems to be collective bargaining. I do not see any alternative. Here the professionals have to rely on the coercive power that is derived from group action.

For this avenue, it is fair to say that the existing legislation in Quebec is inappropriate. It fails to allow for the special nature of the employer-employee relationship. It splits the professional association through the need to exclude those who have the power to hire, promote or discharge their fellow professionals. It introduces inflexibility into the employment contract; makes difficult the recognition of special merit; gives rise to the notion of grievance; provides the right to strike, which is not well regarded by society. Perhaps we might have to consider some institution such as the French Comité Paritaire as a Court of Appeal for professional people covered by collective agreements with a right to appeal the Committee's judgments to the regular courts. We may also, where it is not already the case, as with teachers and nurses, have to consider removing the licensing function from the professional association when the collective bargaining function achieves quantitative importance among the members. Where professionals do bargain collectively I think it would be more satisfactory to have a separate association for economic purposes. The great danger is, of course, as I have mentioned, that the economic associations may become the more important associations in the eyes of the members.

In the final analysis the issue facing us with regard to professional employees is one of individual goal achievement in an age of increasing technology, an age of increasing specialization and bureaucratization. Walter Lippman once defined a good society as one in which each individual is free to pursue those ends which to him seem best. Today we have to ask how can the individual best pursue his own goals, given the present and developing structure of society? An increasing proportion of our national output comprises collective goods. To determine priorities and plans for these we have to work through the political system, not through the market system, since politics is the means by which we make social choices. In the private sphere, the individual determines his own ends and works out his own destiny. Consensus, as a professor at Columbia points out in the current issue of *Life* magazine, is maintained outside of the market system through "Bargaining and Trade-Off of Preferences within and between Groups." So that as we move an activity from the competitive regulation of the marketplace there seems to be no alternative to bargaining at the moment. There is at present, under certain circumstances which I have mentioned, no viable alternative if we are to reconcile, as the theme of this Conference suggests, the human values and aspirations of professional employees with the needs of an increasingly technological and impersonal society.

DISCUSSION

QUESTION:

The implementation of the Parent Report is going to artificially create three levels of professionalism: the university, the technical, and then the vocational. How is this going to be accommodated in this professional type of association?

PROFESSOR BRIANT:

I do not know the answer to that one, although I would guess that the university professors will not want to be in an association with the school teachers. The position of a university professor is somewhat different; he can publish himself out of an unhappy situation so that he comes to the attention of other people who make him job offers. It does not occur nearly as much with the school teachers, who just are not in a position to develop the same professional expertise that gives them mobility, so there is not the community of interest between professors and teachers in high schools and elementary schools that one might think there is.

At the second level, are the institutes. I do not think anybody knows exactly who is going to be staffing the institutes; whether it will be some people from the universities or whether the high school teachers will move out — those with special competence — into the institutes. Their own associations say they would have no particular interest in common with the professors and none with the teachers because they are at a lower level and come through separate associations.

QUESTION:

In your address you made a point that professionals could very well sit with the employers dealing with the professional employees and then after those negotiations are finished turn around and deal on their own behalf as a group with the same employer. I recognized the apparent problem which you deal with, but I still wonder in spite of that, why not? Why is it not possible for them to do so?

PROFESSOR BRIANT:

That is a very good question and I have no particular reason to say that they cannot, but with professionals I checked this with, I asked this question, "What will you do?" and they said it would be a completely impossible situation for them to be in. It may turn out that it is not, but you certainly find it said in industry when you talk to a professional, "I would like to do my own bargaining," and when you say, "Well, why would you like to do your own bargaining?" they say, "Because I often have other options available to me."

Many of the professionals today in government, and I do not say this to be critical of any professionals that are in the government, are not always of the same calibre as the professionals in private practice or those in private industry. This is a fairly common problem, and they do not have the mobility to the same extent.

QUESTION:

In the negotiations with the Teachers' Association now the only kind of pressure that can be applied is a strike. Here in the province of Quebec we know the consequences of a strike because the children are the ones suffering the most. Do you foresee any other type of pressure that may be applied in these negotiations?

PROFESSOR BRIANT:

The teachers have had certain pressures they can bring to bear, such as not serving on committees, not taking part in extracurricular activities, going for a one or two day study session and not turning in any of the reports which they are absolutely flooded with. It is incredible to go into a school and see just how much time has to be spent receiving notes, writing notes to parents, taking roll calls and sending notes to the principal.

There are thus these things that they can do, but the best suggestion that I have had given to me is by a teacher who comes from France. He claims that the Comité Paritaire idea works quite well. If there are grievances the two parties try to hammer out an agreement. If they cannot then either one can refer it to the Comité Paritaire. There is one neutral man, one judge, and these are judges, regular judges, one representing the employee and one representing the employer. If either party does not want to accept the judgment of the Comité Paritaire they then can appeal to the regular courts of law. I said, "Well, what happens if they don't like the judgment of the regular courts of law?" And he said, "What does society do now if they do not like the judgment of regular courts? They accept it."

PROFESSOR MEYER:

Or the legislature intervenes.

PROFESSOR BRIANT:

Yes, and in France they are not allowed to strike. I just mentioned the thought. I have no experience of how it works in France, but I can well foresee that with the professional environment — when you remove the judgment factor from both parties — there is the group above who will sit in judgment and then another group that will also sit in judgment. It might be something that would work.

There are numerous ways to have an impact. I really do not think that school teachers should resort to the strike, because the public is simply not willing to accept a strike by them. We saw this in Quebec with the Catholic school teachers. If Mr. Johnson had called an election after the passage of Bill 25 I think he would have a large majority in the House right now, because French-Canadian opinion was strongly against the school teachers going on strike. There is no point in having a weapon if in fact you bring out so much public discontent that you end up with the kind of legislation that was brought in.

SYMPOSIUM

MODERATOR:	*Mrs. Frances Bairstow*
PANEL:	*Professor Harold L. Wilensky* *Professor C. Roy Brookbank* *Professor Leonard Sayles* *Professor Peter Briant*

MODERATOR:

I wonder if we could not ask Professor Wilensky to touch upon the problem of the professional worker, his work and his leisure, which all tend to fuse into one another so that it becomes difficult to distinguish what is work and what is leisure.

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

The answer to that in part is that those who have meaningful work like it. They throw themselves into it; they invest themselves into it. They happen to be the people who also invest themselves in everything else. I am sure you are aware of those who are active in community life. They show that they are hard workers and hard players and have a great range of activities. You ask where your organization activist is in voluntary organizations and you will find he is the leader at work too. The fact is that people make friends at work that spill over into the community. They make contacts at work that spill over into the community. They acquire a clientèle which usually is active in community life, as a lawyer might be, or as an insurance man might be.

If you find someone alienated from his work—a man on the assembly line who is gripped bodily to that line doing repetitive, routine work, fully machine-paced, the old-fashioned assembly line — that fellow is not going to be very happy either at work or at his leisure. He is restricted and constricted in both areas. Cut the man out of the labour force, as we do to the elderly at fifty, sixty, and seventy, and one usually finds that the relationships of people like this are cut and their interest in leisure pursuits is dampened.

It seems to me that to solve the problem of leisure you must solve the problem of work. I think that is the sort of thing that you were talking about.

PROFESSOR BROOKBANK:

Do you feel that people establish predispositions towards being active? If either by accident or by design people have opportunities to have real involvement in work, leisure, or various things like this, do you think they then become predisposed to true involvement in whatever frame of reference they find themselves?

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

I think that is a fair formulation of that idea.

PROFESSOR BROOKBANK:

So that if that is valid, the business of participation in a democracy, therefore, involves actual predisposition towards being active — opportunities at work, or wherever, for people to truly become involved, and if they have this kind of pre-conditioning they then feel involved in almost anything in which they find themselves. They just get into the centre of things.

PROFESSOR SAYLES:

This goes back, you know, to an earlier and, I think, unfortunately now unpopular, but perhaps more valid conception of participation than the one we now hold. The earlier studies in participation done by psychologists noted that the amount of energy that an individual committed to a task was a function of how many of his senses were utilized by the task. It always seemed to me that participation, meaning active involvement, meaning energetic criticism and discussion was a more meaningful and realistic description of what was useful and likely to cause people to become committed. In so many aspects of organizational life it is almost meaningless to ask who makes the decision, and did the individual make the decision jointly with the supervisor, or didn't he? It is much more relevant to ask if he is actively involved in the work process, does he have people he can reach and talk to and complain to, and is his opinion solicited, and so on, rather than to try to dissect who in fact is the decisive person or group in the situation.

MODERATOR:

Professor Briant, I wonder if I could ask you to comment on whether or not you think there was a definite turning point, in this area, in Quebec, in the change of attitude of professional workers toward this acceptance of their role and involvement in activity? Was it a long-time evolutionary process? Was it kaleidoscoped in the last few years? Why has all this literature said so definitely that professional workers will not organize, will not be interested in this evolution, yet so much has happened in the last few years?

PROFESSOR BRIANT:

I would be very hardpressed to try and state a turning point, although it might be feasible to say that this all took place at a time of important social change in Quebec, when the Liberal government came into power. I think Professor Brookbank yesterday talked about analysing the change and I think within the context of the social environment there were such changes for other than professional reasons in French-Canadian society. It was easy for the professionals in their development of new attitudes to bring with them the acceptance of new values, and say yes, we have to do something to improve our status in life.

I think what you were discussing earlier has some relevance as well. Professionals did not feel that they were wholly involved as professionals and were using all of their professional capabilities in many organizations in this province. This perhaps is particularly true of French-Canadian engineers in Anglo-Saxon companies who thought that they were just used for functions that didn't involve the whole of their professional talents. They did not see much of an opportunity to move up ahead when they had a thick wall of Anglo-Saxon executives above them.

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

It is that latter point, I think, that is most crucial. Engineers have not shown much propensity to organize in the United States, even though many are in little cubicles doing blueprint writing *because they see a way out. It is this that will predict unionism.* If they see no way out, if they are blocked from the career they expect to unfold to their satisfaction, they will form unions.

PROFESSOR BRIANT:

There is one other factor as well — that of mobility. Even if the French-Canadian sees himself blocked in one situation he is not going to British Columbia for a job. This is something peculiar to his situation. He wants to make his career in the province of Quebec, and the opportunities for him to move around are not nearly as great as they are for many other professions.

QUESTION:

How do you carry the thesis that the engineer does not see a way out? How do you carry that to other professions, the teachers, for example? Surely they have enough foresight when they go in to know there is no way out?

PROFESSOR BRIANT:

I am not absolutely sure that is true. You could talk a great deal to teachers at the Teachers' College and say, "Don't forget, when you get into the school you will be in a bureaucratic system. You won't be asked what books you should use in the class. You will be told what books." They just do not really believe that this is going to happen, and they go into teaching with the feeling that they are going to have the freedom that is normally accorded to people with professional training, and they find that this is not so. A lot of them do get out. The turnover in the Protestant school system is remarkably high. Young men stay in for about five or six years and then they either move into industry or they come back to university for graduate degrees and decide that if they have the qualifications and the intellectual ability they will stay in the university.

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

Also, it is a matter of aspiration. Engineers expect more. Generally they want to move up into management positions. If they are thwarted they are more likely to join unions. If they have a national labour market — I gather there is a local labour market for engineers here — in the United States it is more national, they are more mobile and thus they do not have to join unions. I think the mobility factor is crucial here.

PROFESSOR BRIANT:

I certainly found — I spent five years in the States — that American professors are far more mobile than professors in Canada. I put forth the concept of mobility to my colleagues at McGill, and they said, "But I like it at McGill, I don't want to change. What I want is what I consider to be a fair deal at McGill." I was amazed in the States to find a man who was Director of a school — I don't say this happens all the time — who gave notice five days before the start of the term, and said, "The University of Illinois has offered me *X* thousand a year more than you are prepared to offer me." There was no resentment of this at the University of Michigan. It was perfectly understandable. "Why not make the move? We will have to find someone else."

PROFESSOR SAYLES:

We have this problem at Columbia. I keep saying to my senior colleagues that their salaries would be a lot better for senior professors — we have a squeeze that you may be familiar with — if only more of us would leave, and they say, "Well, you first," and this leaves quite a stalemate situation.

PROFESSOR BRIANT:

You probably remember at the University of Michigan in the late 1950's when the university was not able to pay salaries, and some of the other universities swooped in, picked up the outstanding men and took them away. The University of Michigan had to pay a premium to get them back again.

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

I believe that the payless paydays at Michigan were due entirely to a media crisis. Every professor was paid. Every employee at the university was paid but *Time* magazine nevertheless reported payless paydays. They were going after Soapy Williams that year — you remember that.

PROFESSOR MEYER:

I just wanted to make a comment on the way out for teachers in Quebec. I think that their way out traditionally has been by moving into the administrative posts which Professor Briant mentioned, as vice-principals, supervisors of various specialities, as principals, as supervisors at the level of the boards — especially large boards, like the Montreal Board. What has happened is that one of the resistances to change at the level of the School Board administration in terms of unification of school boards and getting rid of the professional on the English side has precisely arisen because of the fear on the English side of not having a way out. Once you have a unified administrative structure the plums go to the qualified French-speaking people because they are the majority and they are going to be controlling the situation. This mainly concerns the Protestant teachers who become administrators and who organize resistance in the English-speaking teaching profession against the Parent Report. Their basic motivation is fear.

With the creation of the new Ministry of Education in Quebec, the divisions in the Department of Education do not seem to be quite as numerous as before, because the division is not totally along Protestant-Catholic lines in Quebec City anymore, but at least they still have that outlet at the level of the Montreal Boards. I think that this explains one of their fears.

PROFESSOR BRIANT:

Another side of that coin — I think it is very true — is this: I do not think I have ever met more frustrated human beings than men in teaching who have not been made principal. They can say the word administrator in such a way that there is hatred in every letter in the word — they really can, they are so thoroughly frustrated as human beings. I do not apply this to all of them. There must be exceptions, men who are happy to stay in the classroom, but the majority of them are not. They are different from professors in this sense. Professors are happy to stay in teaching because they have their research, and they have far more of what Professor Sayles calls "total involvement."

What appears to be happening is this: the teachers feel that the professional relations committee which now basically operates on the local level will help them to retain their professional rights, obligations, and responsibilities. In locals that went the whole union route and came up with a contract that any labour union would be delighted to see, there were all kinds of things that did not fall within a professional's code of ethics, such as if you are an hour late turning up for work then you will be docked *X* dollars pay, or you must take an extra class, et cetera.

These practices are not truly professional. A professional, if he is really a professional, considers himself on call twenty-four hours a day, and what he wants basically is a professional salary at a professional level. Many aspects of the work agreement will be worked out by him through his professional responsibilities and he does not need to have it incorporated in the collective agreement.

OBSERVATION:

I wanted to suggest that perhaps the problem of the employed professional can be accounted for from another point of view. I am not talking about all employed professionals but those who are involved in the delivery of a service such as people in social work, or nursing, or teaching, who have for many years been defined as semi-professionals and who have recently been seeking full professional status, whatever that means.

It seems to me that to the professional associations professional status means the promulgation of an image of public service, and the dilemma arises from the fact that at the same time this occurs, more hard-headed bargaining occurs. The image of public service removes from their arsenal of a possible collection of bargaining weapons many of the things they could do otherwise, were they not so busy projecting the image of public service and skill and the good of society.

PROFESSOR BROOKBANK:

I think this illustrates the real dilemma. In terms of education I can only speak first-hand at this point from the Nova Scotian point of view, but it would seem to me as a university professor that I have tremendous freedom and control over what I teach. No one tells me, nobody inspects me, and so forth. On the other hand, when it comes to collective bargaining I am part of what has been referred to as an ineffectual process, on a university level.

The secondary school teachers have a good collective bargaining system in Nova Scotia. They are certified, and their salary standards are reasonably good, but they have really no control over their professional role. They are really told what to teach, and this is a source of tremendous frustration for them, I think. They feel that they are part of a system in which they cannot give their own vitality and creativity, and they find themselves faced by students who are literally bored, especially the more capable students, because they go through a series of routines where everything is all laid out and there is no real intellectual stimulation. However, since they opted for a strong collective bargaining position, in effect they have lost control over their own influence over education. We in the university have lots of influence over our educational role, but we do not have much in the way of collective bargaining. Somewhere in between perhaps there is a happy optimum. I do not know.

Professor Wilensky:

Part of the whole problem with the school teachers is that we are asking the schools to do too much; there are too many groups converging on the schools. This is increasing as manpower problems become central to the modern economy. We ask the schools to do more and more and more, and the teacher finds himself doing more and more.

The question as to what institutional arrangements are appropriate in such a situation is in part answered by a kind of hybrid unionism-professionalism in the teaching profession that seems to be emerging in the United States. There is a National Educational Association, which is a kind of company union of principals, superintendents, and teachers. They have about a million members, or many hundreds of thousands. There is also an American Federation of Teachers, with eighty to one hundred thousand. In the last fifteen years these two groups have practically merged in tactics, strategy, and style of organization. They both eschew the strike, however. They are both using the black list. They are beginning to get some control over entry to the school system. If the local does not behave itself it finds itself on the black list, and it is not able to recruit teachers. This is very effective in some parts of the United States. The end result of these solutions will be a complete loss of autonomy as tactics not only fuse but become more vigorous.

Professor Briant:

I should like to make just one comment here because in Quebec new institutions are also being developed in teaching. If the recommendations of the Parent Royal Commission are adopted almost wholly, then one big change that will take place will be that economic matters will be discussed at the provincial level. This will mean that the membership of school boards will be substantially different in the future than in the past. The school board members have been local businessmen who have been primarily concerned with money, taxes, and tax allocation. These businessmen have had no training in the area of education, and thus teachers have had to face their masters knowing that there is a communication barrier between them. In the public school board in Montreal there are pretty capable men, but there has been this feeling, "Well, he is a businessman; that is why he is on the board. What does he really know about pedagogy?"

If the economic matters are dealt with provincially, and I quite agree that they should be, I can foresee the school board member being a younger man generally whose children might be in the school system, and who has a fairly good educational background. This is the type of young man the teachers themselves will respect, and if the quality of the teacher is improved so that the younger men will have some respect for them, they will sit down together and say, "Within the constraints that are now imposed upon us how can we arrive at the best educational system for this region for the benefit of the children?"

Society had it all upside down the other way, before Bill 25 came into being. The major points of discussion were economic points between the boards and the teachers, and you are not being terribly professional when most of your discussions with the school boards are about how much you are going to get paid. So there is some hope. I agree with you that there will have to be changes.

MODERATOR:

I would like to shift the emphasis a bit away from teachers to industry, if we can.

QUESTION:

As a society becomes increasingly more automated, do you envision that all those who want to work will be accommodated in the work force in order to produce the goods and services that a society requires? I got this impression from hearing you say yesterday that there is somehow a place for everyone, and the second impression that I got is that work is still the most necessary function for a human being.

PROFESSOR WILENSKY:

We have had technological change at rapid rates for a hundred years; in the United States the decade of most rapid change was the 1890's, not the 1960's. We have had a steady growth with all of that technological change. Automation is a continuation of it. We have had a steady growth in the size of the labour force. We have had a steady growth in participation of women in the labour force. We have had jobs to do. We bend our abundance to great purposes. That is the secret of success if we want to give people work.

As I look about our cities, and I exclude my own San Francisco area as well as Montreal, I consider the rest of the cities in North America and I am not terribly impressed with the way we have solved the problem of maintaining urban amenities. We have lots of work to do there, cleaning up those cities with urban redevelopment, to organize these communities so that they are livable, to clean up the air, which is polluted, to see that our streams and water supplies are not threatened. All of that needs doing. Recreational facilities are inadequate in most of these cities. Welfare services are inadequate in most of these cities.

It seems to me that there are numerous areas in which we need to create jobs, and every up-to-date welfare state is doing it in some way or other. Our poverty program consists of ethics to do that kind of thing. I also think that we can do more to develop part-time jobs for women who need them, part-time jobs for retirees who would rather not be fully retired; and there are programs in industry carrying on with that. The answer is this: yes, automation displaces people, but there are other things you can do to re-absorb them, and we ought to do some of these things.

QUESTION:

I appreciate the fact that one can keep everybody busy in a kind of social service civilization enterprise, but is this consistent with our economic way of life? Is it consistent with our value system? Is it not true that people do fall by the wayside? I am fully aware that we can plan on a nationwide basis to absorb these people, but I am talking in terms of the kind of system that we live in — that is, in terms of the values it has.

PROFESSOR SAYLES:

I think the question illustrates the really pitiful planning that we do, and the inability of most of us to distinguish between propaganda in social science and real social science.

In other words, starting about a decade ago we began reading these horrible things that were about to occur because of automation, which was supposed to be something new under the sun. Most people who were studious about it recognized that there was really nothing new and that this was a continuing trend. People screamed that this would mean that it would become a great privilege to work, and few would be able to enjoy this privilege. Most of us would be out of work, on the dole, or government employees, with nothing more than on the one hand propaganda, or on the other hand just a poor capacity to forecast. This is why I have tried to say in a nice way, and I guess I am saying it in a less nice way now, that the emphasis on planning implies that one can know the future. I would judge that rather few of us know the future, and that the temptation is to panic rather than to sort of systematically adapt and adjust as particular events become clearer.

PROFESSOR WESTLEY:

I am not going to pose a question this late in the day. I would just like to state a few of my impressions. It was, I think, interesting to see that we had two speakers in our program who focused on what might be called different scale models of society in an abstract sense, and I think that Professor Wilensky, taking in the whole of technological change for his point of view, and Professor Brookbank, speaking on the unit level of people working together, have both focused, curiously enough, on two abstract sections of society. Then to turn it around, Professor Sayles and Professor Briant — Professor Sayles talked about management adapting to change and Professor Briant talked about a type of union.

The theme of the Conference was human values and technological change. I think it is clear that the speakers could not deal fully with this problem. I do not know whether it is possible to deal with a topic having such a large scope. The problem as accepted by most of the speakers was that technological change is occurring and that somehow or other we have to find ways of dealing with it and its value consequences.

The intimation came from all of you, I think, from time to time to the effect that perhaps values might be placed first, and some method of handling technological change would be found. I do not know whether this problem was successfully stated at all, but certainly the values that underpinned the early development, for example, of collective bargaining, the kinds of human rights, the management-worker rights, the rights of the person, the rights of wages, and so on, were part of the value structure. It is clear that value structure is now being threatened by interdependence. It is a whole interdependent movement, and again that is sweeping all the professionals in one way or another into larger units, fastening them to institutions. We have seen this with doctors and teachers getting more and more involved with larger units. This has brought about a definite change in values and technology whose impact is impossible to determine at this time.

We have drawn together, I think, a remarkable group of men, and for me personally it has been a stimulating experience. I think I can speak for all of you in thanking them for a very fine Conference.